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THE CHOICE before William Green, in settling with the rubber employers, was between a strike which would have been defeated and an election which would have been lost. Mr. Green refused to choose either and accepted a settlement which postpones elections for a year and rules out the strike for that period. Instead of a defeat he has, like many a hapless military commander, chosen surrender on terms. Under the circumstances it may have been a prudent decision. But it points the lesson that the generalship of the A. F of L. has degenerated to the level of wresting concessions in surrender with no thought of victory. The chapter on rubber is the clearest account of A. F. of L. mismanagement written since the New Deal. It is even worse than the bungling of the organization in the steel and automobile industries. A year ago, as Louis Adamic has told our readers, the unions enrolled a large majority of the rubber workers. Thereupon the A. F. of L. imposed a long period of inaction, during which hearts were broken and union membership dwindled to a small minority. Mr. Adamic assumed that the A. F. of L. issued charters to the new industrial unions, not to build up a great mass movement but to keep one from growing. It could not have succeeded better had this been the conscious policy. The automobile and steel workers have been led up the alley, and now the spirit of the rubber workers has been so badly broken that the rank and file could not even protest effectively against the Green settlement.

THE TERMS conceded to Mr. Green in his surrender are dressed up as handsomely as possible. There are to be negotiations, and agreements are to be posted on the company bulletin boards. If negotiations fail, disputes are to be referred to a neutral board to be set up by the Secretary of Labor, and not until the decisions of this board are rejected by either side may there be strike or lockout. But the negligibility of this concession is seen in the fact that the unions will not negotiate for all the workers, and cannot now demand with any logic the right to negotiate for a majority. This was the real issue, as wages are not fundamentally in dispute. The majority no longer lies with the federal unions, and Mr. Green's demand that the companies should not finance their own unions was easily rejected. Miss Perkins cannot be criticized for this settlement. She conducted the negotiations with propriety, and has such credit as there is for having brought both sides together. She could not save the cause of industrial unionism, and it would have been improper for her to attempt to. Industrial unionism probably is beyond salvation anyway, unless the ideas of Sidney Hillman and John Lewis bear early fruit, and a new federation, created to dethrone the A. F. of L. from leadership of all but the small craft unions, gets swiftly to work to cure the deadening paralysis afflicting the organization of the key industries. It really matters little what happens to Section 7-a and the Wagner Labor Disputes bill unless labor finds some way to use its rights.

"COMPLAINANTS' STRIKE was unsuccessful, and for that reason it is not incumbent upon the employer to reinstate the strikers in their former positions." Such was the curious ruling of the Textile Labor Relations Board in its decision on the Ninety-Six (South Carolina) Cotton Mill case, a decision now upheld following an appeal of the United Textile Workers for a rehearing. Besides the 142 workers directly concerned, the ruling affects thousands of cotton-mill operatives still locked out in the sequel to the nation-wide textile strike last fall. Its paradoxical implication is that unless the workers are strong enough to win without relying on 7-a, the protection of that section will be denied them. It is true that in many cases the textile board has ordered the reinstatement of workers locked out since last year's strike. Typical was the Byrum Hosiery Mills case. Here, as in the Ninety-Six case, the workers participated in a walkout that failed. But whereas the Ninety-Six mill hired strike-breakers as soon as the workers quit the looms, the Byrum Mills recruited a new staff only when the beneficiaries of the Winant recommendations sought to return to work. The lesson to employers eager to avoid the moral force of Section 7-a is plain: hire strike-breakers; win by force. For, as the board puts it, "the positions of complainants were filled while they were out on strike. The failure to reinstate them in their former positions was not due to their union activities but to the fact that others had been employed in their stead when they refused to return to their positions after being requested to do so, and no work was available for them after the strike was called off."

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THE BENIGN SANTA CLAUS that dwells in Washington has opened his bag again and granted the silver producers a 10 per cent increase in the bounty paid for that metal. Two years ago these hard-working gentlemen were getting less than 30 cents an ounce for silver. Today they are guaranteed 71 cents by an all-wise and good government, with the prospect of a further increase if they continue their exemplary conduct. Nor are the domestic silver producers the only ones to be rewarded. As a result of the government's buying program, the world price of silver has passed the 1926 level, to the benefit of American-owned mines in Mexico and South America. Even the dull eye of the New York *Times* seems to perceive the presence of a stranger in the woodpile. "Some observers," it delicately suggests, "profess to believe that the Administration's action was at least partly induced by influence from the silver states." The plain fact, of course, is that we are confronted with one of the most daring and unscrupulous raids on the federal treasury in the history of the country. Raising the price of silver aids no one except a handful of silver magnates and the fortunate few who happen to hold stock in one of the silver-producing companies. Not only do the rest of us have to dig in our pockets to pay these increased dividends, but all of us suffer indirectly from the chaos which our silver policy has created in China. The moral of this tale is obvious: Know what you want, organize, and then bring pressure on Washington until you get it.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN'S magnificent battle in behalf of legislative and Congressional reapportionment has ended in defeat thanks chiefly to the opposition of Tammany. At this writing there are indications that he will try again, perhaps in a special session of the legislature. We heartily congratulate him for his determination. Reapportionment has long been overdue. The legislative districts have not been reapportioned since 1917, and the Congressional districts not since 1911. In the intervening years there has been a shift of population in the state, especially in New York City, and the resulting injustice to the voters, from the point of view of representation in Albany and Washington, has been glaring. To cite an example, one state senator represents 256,440 voters in the Fourth District in Brooklyn, and another senator, with exactly the same power at the state capital, represents only 42,047 voters in the Twelfth District in Manhattan. The Dunnigan-Streit bill, which would do away with such inequalities, is, as Governor Lehman has said, "fair, sound, and equitable." But it would cut the Tammany crowd from nine senators to six and from twenty-three assemblymen to sixteen. Tammany politicians are not accustomed to voting themselves out of jobs, hence their violent attacks upon the bill on the spurious grounds of unfairness and unconstitutionality.

WHEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT insists that its refusal to extend tariff reductions to nations which discriminate against American exports is not a violation of the most-favored-nation principle, it may be technically accurate. But when it also insists that deliberate discrimination by the United States against offending foreign countries "is the opposite of retaliation" and indeed is a policy of "respectful and friendly approach," it is carrying the argument to the point of absurdity. The fact is that most states have two tariff schedules, a high one for nations with which they have no special treaty arrangement and a lower one for those with which they have concluded reciprocity agreements. This system has hitherto been rejected by the United States on the ground that it was cumbersome and conducive to misunderstanding and friction. If the present Administration chooses to reverse the traditional policy it is at liberty to do so. But it is sheer hypocrisy to maintain that in setting up, in effect, two tariff schedules it is merely seeking to "implement" the most-favored-nation principle. The difficulty in which the State Department finds itself is a natural outgrowth of the attempt to reduce tariffs by reciprocal agreements. Once we come to look upon a reduction in tariff as a "concession" which is to be granted only in a *quid pro quo* arrangement, it is natural to look about for weapons to assist in the bargaining duel. The next step is almost certain to be a series of disputes over alleged discrimination which in the long run can only multiply and stiffen trade barriers. All of this could be avoided if the Administration would remember that the avowed purpose of its policy is to regain markets for our export trade. Since exports are dependent on imports, the widest extension of tariff reductions is clearly to our national interest.

THE RIGHT TO BE FOOLISH is inherent in democracy, and Charles R. Walgreen, who withdrew his niece from the University of Chicago because that institution is a "center of radical teaching," was amply exercising it. But when he sought to impose his views on the country by demanding an open hearing on his charges he was no longer a democrat. The safety of the University of Chicago is vested in better keeping than the man who, according to his biography in "Who's Who," was educated in high school and business college and operates 482 chain drug-stores in thirty-one states. The niece, Miss Lucile Norton, admits that no effort was made to teach her radical doctrine, but is quoted as saying that the university "is one of the best places there is to learn communism." One must assume that Uncle Charles learned about the university from Niece Lucile, and what he objects to is that she might have learned about communism had she wanted to. If the chain-store mind were not in the ascendancy, we should add Mr. Walgreen to our collection of Babbitts and pass on to other tasks with an amused heart. But this kind of joke might easily turn out to be at the expense of academic freedom, and we must be serious enough to commend President Hutchins for not being afraid of Mr. Walgreen and the students of the university for taking offense at his intrusion.

THE IMPORTANCE of the national student strike against war was enhanced rather than diminished by the rowdyism displayed by so-called "patriotic" students and their prototypes—the public authorities. Despite inclement weather, at least 150,000 students deserted their classrooms for an hour to protest against a future war in which they would be expected to be the chief victims. Unimpressed by the educational value of having students brought face to face with one of the primary problems of modern life, school and municipal authorities in many places attempted to prevent the demonstration. In New York City the majority of the high-school principals forbade students to leave their classrooms. In many other cities police arrested students for

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distributing handbills urging support of the strike, and in some instances youths were confined to jail or fined for strike activity. The demonstrations in Seattle, Chicago, and Boston were attacked by bands of student hoodlums crying, "We want war," or "Down with peace." These hoodlums we can forgive because they merely constitute a pale reflection of that supreme expression of adult rowdyism which is war. But that men who have been intrusted with the education of our youth should short-sightedly seek to prolong infancy by prohibiting an expression of opinion on a matter that so intimately concerns youth is to our mind unforgivable. Nor is it true that such demonstrations are useless. The very zeal which the authorities exerted in trying to suppress them belies this assertion.

THE RECENT ADVENT of a Labor Government in Norway completes the circle of Socialist rule in Scandinavia. The spectacle of these three relatively prosperous kingdoms under the domination of the Second International is especially welcome on a continent that is rapidly being engulfed by fascist reaction. In the Nygaardsvold Cabinet, we have, moreover, for the first time in history a left-wing labor government taking power in a monarchy. Neither Herr Hansson in Sweden nor Herr Stauning in Denmark may in any sense be regarded as an extremist. Nor can this term properly be applied to Herr Nygaardsvold. But the Labor Party of Norway has long been considered the *enfant terrible* of socialism. Herr Tranmael, editor-in-chief of the *Arbeiderbladet*—the actual leader of the party—is spoken of as "half bolshevik" by the conservative leadership of the Second International. It is significant, therefore, that three of his intimate supporters were given important posts in the new Cabinet. The whole trend of socialism in Scandinavia is expected to be forced to the left by the influence of the more vigorous elements in this group.

WORKING in that indirect manner in which the Japanese so delight, the militaristic-nationalist clique in Japan has won a victory which may have far-reaching effects on the international as well as the domestic situation. The nationalists had been much disturbed by the growing influence of Kitokuro Ikki, president of the Privy Council, who heads the moderates in resisting an open fascist dictatorship. Baron Ikki had been transferred from the Imperial Household to his present influential position by Prince Saionji, last of the elder statesmen, as a strategic move to prevent Baron Hironuma, the fascist leader who is vice-president of the Privy Council, from succeeding to the presidency. In any other country the fascists would have launched a campaign of vilification against Ikki to get him removed from office. Not so in Japan. Nothing was said about that esteemed gentlemen. Instead, a violent attack was directed against a certain Dr. Minobe, Japan's outstanding authority on constitutional law. It was charged that two of Dr. Minobe's books, "A Course in Constitutional Law" and "Essentials of Constitutional Law," which have been standard textbooks in the imperial universities for thirty years, contained sections that were derogatory to the Emperor. Specifically, their author is said to have implied that the Emperor derived his authority from the people, in violation of the orthodox theory that the "prerogatives of the Emperor—that is, the state—are omnipotent and supreme." As a consequence of this heresy the Cabinet has ordered Dr. Minobe's books to be suppressed, and he has been officially disgraced. The bearing of this on Baron Ikki's career may not be obvious to a mere Occidental, but to the Japanese mind it is self-evident. Ikki is a liberal whose views are much the same as those upheld by Dr. Minobe. If the latter is guilty of a slur on the Emperor, it is clear that no man holding views similar to his can aspire to leadership in public life. What could be more logical?

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT to the federal Constitution was finally brought to the floor of the New York Assembly, where it was defeated by a vote of 103 to 35; in the Senate it was left buried in committee. Governor Lehman is for ratification, but as Mayor LaGuardia pointed out at the recent meeting of the Emergency Committee for the Immediate Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment in New York, he has not had the courage to address a message on the subject to the legislature. It is almost inconceivable that at this late date anybody should object to the amendment, for it would offer only the most elementary relief to the half-million exploited minors in the United States. It is not surprising that the Manufacturers' Association, the New York State Economic Council, and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association are opposed to ratification, but one would expect more sense and decency from George W. Wickersham, Elihu Root, Al Smith, and even Nicholas Murray Butler. The old nonsense that the amendment would violate states' rights has long been exploded, and the belief among some of the Catholic clergy that it would do damage to the parochial-school system has been fully answered by no less prominent a Catholic than Monsignor John A. Ryan. President Butler's latest reason for opposing the amendment is that "child labor has practically disappeared from the United States. This fact I have tested by personal observation." Dr. Butler apparently knows as little about child-labor conditions in the United States as he does about the distribution of the national income.

YALE, the citadel of orthodoxy, has apparently rejected the philosophy of the New Deal and all other radical nostrums calling for a more equitable distribution of wealth. Faced with the necessity of meeting a deficit of some $283,000 out of a budget of over $8,000,000, the university hit upon the happy idea of cutting its lowest-paid workers, thus averting the deplorable necessity of reducing professorial salaries. On March 1 the wages of 442 janitors were cut from $20.77 to $20 a week; 60 library maintenance workers were reduced from $23.07 weekly to $22; the campus police and gate porters suffered reductions from $38.50 to $35 and from $24.50 to $22. Salaries of members of the faculty and administration, on the other hand, have not been touched throughout the depression. When pressed to account for its action by a group of socially minded students, the administration attempted to justify itself by declaring that it is paying the market rate for janitorial services, and that it would be "inexcusable incompetency" to pay more. Doubtless the university can find support for its policies in the writings of Adam Smith, but how, we may ask, does it interpret modern economists such as Keynes and Moulton? We suspect we know the answer.

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Good News from Stresa

NOT since Lausanne has an international conference ended upon a note of general optimism such as was in evidence at Stresa. This was perhaps due more to surprise that any progress could be made than to specific achievements, but it was none the less a welcome contrast to the apprehensive pall which had hung over Europe since Hitler's unilateral declaration of rearmament. Only a few days before, predictions regarding the failure of Stresa were to be heard on every side. The three major Western powers seemed hopelessly split on what tactics were most suitable in the face of German rearmament. Captain Eden's illness and the selection of Ramsay MacDonald to head the British delegation appeared to destroy whatever possibility existed that Great Britain would join with the other powers in adopting specific measures to restrain Germany. Nor did there seem to be any chance that France and Italy would abandon their demand for defensive alliances for the dubious protection of a collective agreement such as Britain was reported to be seeking. Only the knowledge that failure must ultimately mean war prevented a complete collapse of negotiations.

The result, while tentative, is distinctly to the credit of the diplomacy of the three powers. Each of the nations made more substantial concessions than had been deemed possible beforehand. The British proved to be less adverse to joint action than had been expected; France was persuaded with surprising ease to withdraw its demand that the League take punitive action against Germany for its breach of the Versailles treaty; while Italy agreed to lay aside the question of the immediate rearmament of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria until a subsequent conference to be held at Rome in May. Even Germany, whose opposition to an Eastern Locarno was believed to be uncompromising, electrified the conference by agreeing to participate in such a pact provided it was not required to assume a pledge of mutual assistance.

On the chief problem facing Europe at present—the discovery of a technique for enforcing collective security—the conference made no final decisions. It was, however, able to reach a tentative agreement on formulas which give promise of solving three of the most vexing and controversial issues of the day. In the matter of sanctions, for instance, tacit support was given to the French demand that all future treaty violations be met by the imposition of diplomatic, economic, and financial penalties. Although there is bound to be a wide hiatus between agreement on the theory of sanctions and their application in time of stress, the approval of the method in the face of a definite challenge such as that provided by German rearmament implies a willingness to act that has hitherto been absent. Should non-violent sanctions fail to restrain the Third Reich, there is the further protection of the bilateral mutual-assistance clauses to be included in the Eastern Locarno and the proposed European air pact. By agreeing to adhere to an Eastern pact in which the other powers are committed to mutual aid in case of aggression, Germany has opened the way for a compromise on an issue that but a few days ago appeared insoluble. A final achievement was the acceptance of the Soviet definition of non-aggression as the basis for the proposed agreement guaranteeing the independence of Austria. This would not only preclude an armed attack but would prohibit "subversive political or other action directed against the government in power." As in the case of the other security pacts Germany will be invited to sign; if it refuses there will remain the protection afforded by Italy, France, and the Little Entente.

Thus while Stresa may be said to represent a victory for the advocates of collective security as against those favoring a system of alliances directed against Germany, the triumph is by no means one-sided. It is significant that Germany's concession on the Eastern Locarno did not come until after the announcement of an understanding between France and the Soviet Union—later joined by Turkey and the Little Entente—which could readily be developed into a defensive alliance against the Reich. With each of these countries, together with Italy, definitely committed to a program of concerted action, it was evident that Hitler would have to make some concession in an effort to prevent Germany's isolation. It was also apparent that Great Britain would have to assent to sanctions if it was to achieve its desire of bringing Germany back into the collective system.

The success achieved at Stresa should not blind us to the fact that most of the spade work necessary for the establishment of collective security remains to be done. Stresa has cleared the ground and surveyed the site, but it has not even dug the foundation for a permanent structure of peace. Many problems were left for solution by future negotiations, and many of the questions that appear to have been settled may have to be reopened. No decision has been reached on the resumption of the disarmament conference with Germany participating as an equal. No one knows whether Germany can be persuaded to return to the League without the restoration of at least some of its former colonies, or whether such a concession is within the realm of possibility. No one can pass final judgment on the sincerity of Hitler's pledge of non-aggression. He has failed in his effort to drive a wedge between Britain and its former Allies, and has recognized his failure. But it remains to be seen whether he is realistic enough to admit that Germany's security, like its neighbors', depends on the establishment of effective peace machinery.

Among the problems to be faced at the Rome conference the Austrian question is preeminent. The proposed non-aggression treaty will outlaw Nazi propaganda. But what if Austria goes Nazi of its own free will—in defiance of its present Italian-supported "Christian fascist" government? Mussolini would not countenance a Nazi Austria and would almost certainly intervene to prevent it. Great Britain, on the other hand, could hardly support Italy in its effort to protect its own particular brand of fascism and might even back Germany. The position of France would be difficult, but it would probably choose Mussolini as against Hitler. This issue might plunge Europe into a war that would divide it into two evenly matched camps. To let matters slide until the danger actually arises would be to invite the war. The answer, of course, lies beyond regional pacts in the sphere of world organization.

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Should Wealth Be Conscripted?

IS the Nye committee stumbling up a blind alley in its effort to "take the profit out of war"? We have praised the services of this committee on more than one occasion; it has been a powerful influence in educating the country on the meaning of modern war. But we seriously question the wisdom of trying to make war less objectionable by "equalizing the burdens," especially when this means extending the dangerous principle of conscription.

The motives which inspired the House to revolt against the feeble McSwain bill, and which are now leading the Nye committee to put teeth in war-profit legislation, are admirable. There is every reason for deep resentment that gentlemen like Eugene Grace should draw down million-dollar bonuses in safety at home while the drafted soldier risks his life at the front for a dollar a day. And there is some basis for the belief that anticipation of war profits is a factor—though not the most important—in creating war psychology. But the proposed legislation itself is based on misconceptions.

The campaign to take the profits out of war is by no means new. It was officially sponsored by the American Legion in 1920 and was taken up by the well-meaning Mr. McSwain in 1922. The House Military Affairs Committee held public hearings on the first plan to equalize war burdens as early as 1924, and the War Policies Commission, headed by Pat Hurley, made an exhaustive investigation in 1931. The net result of this campaign was a report from the War Policies Commission indorsing the industrial-mobilization plans of the War Department and approving Bernard Baruch's pet scheme for freezing prices to prevent war-time inflation. The report advised against a constitutional amendment "to permit the taking of private property in time of war" without due compensation. Nothing came of the recommendations of the War Policies Commission. The important point to remember, however, is that all those who started out to take the profit out of war ended by supporting the War Department mobilization plan, which can only function if "reasonable" profits are guaranteed to industry. The American Legion agreed with General Douglas MacArthur that the really important thing is to win the war, and that a 6 per cent return is a fair price to pay for the cooperation of industry. The McSwain bill, despite its name, was the child of the War Department. In its original form it accepted the whole War Department plan for conscription of man power, including those vague provisions which undoubtedly meant conscription of labor. Thanks to Representative Maury Maverick and a band of alert newcomers in Congress, the conscription provisions were thrown out and tax provisions added before the bill went to the Senate.

The Nye committee has been more wary than previous champions of the movement for limiting war profits. It has heard the testimony of army officers on efforts to control unruly industrialists in the last war and it has examined the industrial-mobilization plans which the War Department expects to send to Congress the day war is declared. It knows that if these plans are allowed to stand there will be the some war profits and the same profiteering in the next war, and that industry will hold the whip while labor and the drafted men take their marching orders. Its reason for trying to take the profits out of war is that unless something is done now, we shall have conscription laws amounting to military dictatorship anyway, with no safeguards against profiteering and other abuses. Yet in drafting its own remedy, the Nye committee has joined the ranks of its predecessors and accepted, unnecessarily, the military fascism inherent in the War Department's conscription scheme.

We have no quarrel with the tax provisions of the Nye bill, written by John T. Flynn and a staff of competent experts. They are probably as drastic as they can well be made, even though they would not have paid the full cost of the World War had they been in effect in 1917. Industry would be allowed a top profit of 3 per cent of the value of its capital stock. Individual incomes of more than $10,000 would virtually be confiscated, while those under that amount would be heavily taxed. These provisions may of course be repealed in time of war, as the Nye committee recognizes, but we see some value in putting them on the statute books and keeping them there as long as possible.

The conscription provisions are another matter. Here the Nye committee accepts the War Department thesis that the national defense is jeopardized unless we have adequate provisions for the mobilization of man power and industrial resources in time of war. This is sheer nonsense. But once one adopts that assumption, everything else follows logically and inevitably. The General Staff has a right to expect freedom to work out its mobilization plans, and it will not stop until it has taken over the country in its own way. If unworkable laws are passed by Congress in peace time, they will be repealed after war comes. On the basis of this thesis the Nye committee is logical in trying to equalize the burdens as far as possible. It can try to set up an industrial-management board with power to conscript officers and directors of essential war industries at army rates of pay and to conscript property needed by the government. It can try, but we don't think it will succeed, for when war comes the military dictatorship will be free to do as it alone sees fit.

It is a mistake to assume that conscription in time of war is necessary for the United States. It is not. We are the one great nation in the world which has no need for a mass army, and every reason to reject the military system founded on the outworn doctrines of Von Clausewitz and Scharnhorst in Germany. The War Department only made the discovery that an army of 4,000,000 men was essential to the defense of America after it found itself in the World War. It knows today that we don't need an army of this kind for defense of American soil and it doesn't expect to use it on American soil. It expects to use it in another overseas war fought on the same scale as the last war. The Nye committee would be on much stronger ground if it told the American people just what it has discovered about the purpose of mass-conscription, and asked whether this is what America wants. The answer, we are certain, would be emphatic. The only way to prevent war profits is to prevent war, and the sooner we realize this the better.

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Richberg and Colt

THE Administration's indifference to the rights of labor has reached the point where concern is no longer shown even to avoid the appearance of indifference. The Colt case surpasses the Jennings case in peremptory executive interference, in behalf of employers, with the operation of law. The Colt Patent Firearms Company, a Hartford industry engaged chiefly in supplying the army and navy with guns, was found by the National Labor Relations Board to have failed to bargain collectively with its workers. It ignored the finding and its workers struck. The case went to the Compliance Division of the NRA, and the company's Blue Eagle was taken away. But though deprived of the Eagle, the company was not permitted to suffer the consequences, which normally would have been the cancelation of government orders. Mr. Richberg intervened. He prevented the notification of the War and Navy departments as to the action of his own Compliance Division. The army and navy, not being notified, could not cancel their orders. And Colt was thus put in the position of being able to defy the government's own labor agency and compliance machinery while it fought a strike at its plant.

The Nye committee was studying the relationship between munitions manufacturers and the government, and naturally wondered what influence could be at work to save Colt from suffering the normal consequences of its defiance of government agencies. It asked the army and navy why the Colt orders had not been canceled. It learned that Mr. Richberg had not yet given the notification. So it asked Mr. Richberg. He stated darkly that it would not be in the public interest to reply. The Nye committee then summoned Mr. Richberg before the committee in the hope of obtaining a more satisfactory explanation. This began to look like really democratic government, but the President stepped into the picture and asked the munitions committee to postpone the session at which Mr. Richberg was to be interrogated. Questioned about these mysteries at a press conference, Mr. Richberg again appealed to "public interest" to excuse his silence and announced: "I am not going to answer any questions that are unpleasant." Now we are not averse to silence in the public interest, and if Mr. Richberg after appealing to it had convinced the newspapermen "off the record" that there was good reason for him and the President to act in a manner apparently diametrically opposed to the public interest, they and we should have been satisfied. He did not convince them. Public interest does lie in this case. It is the interest in the honest observance of law by the Administration in a matter in which strict adherence would penalize a manufacturer and support his workers in fighting for a right guaranteed by the law. We are not concerned for the moment with whatever prospect there was of a settlement between the company and its strikers. The settlement might have been more effective if, for once, the full weight of the government had come down on the side of the law—which once more was on the side of the workers. Mr. Richberg's usefulness in an Administration which should be dedicated to holding the scales between capital and labor is clear only to employers like Colt and, we are sorry to say, the President.

Philadelphia Plays Safe

"THE workers would be very much upset if they were to see such a picture of their lives." Such, according to a release just sent out by the New Theater of Philadelphia, were the considerate words of Mayor Moore's secretary, after he had read the manuscript of a play entitled "Too Late to Die." "Of course," he is alleged to have added, "I am not a censor, but if the Mayor hears about the play and doesn't like it, and I know he won't like it, he will revoke the license of the theater in which the play is given." Next morning, oddly enough, the manager of the Broad and the Erlanger theaters remembered certain bookings which he had previously forgotten and announced that he couldn't, after all, rent either of them to the New Theater group. Oddly enough also, the fire marshal of the city conveniently discovered that a little theater auditorium which had previously been approved as safe had become, by some mysterious process, a dangerous fire trap.

The militant members of the New Theater have announced their intention of continuing the fight, and if worst comes to worst they will give a private performance for the benefit of their supporters. It is even possible, of course, that they can bring enough pressure to bear to make the Mayor change his decision, but the discouraging fact is that he is probably either within his legal rights or at least close enough to them to make any legal action exceedingly difficult. Like most mayors he has the power to revoke licenses, and like at least some others he is discovering how convenient this power to "protect the morals of the community" can become when he wishes to pervert it to political ends.

For many years *The Nation* has opposed censorships of any kind. On many occasions earnest readers have protested that we were wasting our time in the defense of allegedly indecent books or plays and asked us why we should concern ourselves with what they regarded as obvious abuses of the right of free speech. We have always replied that it was not safe to pick and choose among cases, but even five years ago we did not know how soon various developments were to prove us right. The Mayor of Philadelphia is not acting by virtue of any new anti-radical legislation. He is merely exercising the powers which were granted him at a time when the theater's fight for freedom was being conducted over moral rather than political issues; and we venture to wager that many liberals who now protest his action would still hesitate to oppose any infringement of an abstract right which did not seem to touch their particular interests. To those, for instance, who have recently objected that *The Nation* was oddly out of order in maintaining the right of the fascist to propagandize, we should like to take this opportunity of pointing out how easily a law originally directed against one kind of activity can be turned against another.

In dubious cases it is always argued that the freedom of expression is being "abused." The existence of such abuse is given as the occasion for the anti-propaganda law just passed in New Jersey and it was also put forward by those who wished to deport Mr. Strachey. But a freedom which cannot be "abused"—that is, used in ways or for purposes which others do not approve of—is no freedom at all.

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Issues and Men

Adolph S. Ochs

WITHOUT question Adolph S. Ochs created the greatest newsgathering journal in the world, which is saying a great deal in view of the record of the London *Times*. That was his supreme achievement, and to it must be added that he made his great success without stooping to the gutter. If there have been occasions when in the reporting of criminal cases the *Times* has failed to live up to its own motto of printing only news that is fit to print, by and large its columns have been admirably clean, its advertising scrupulously honest. More than that, it has never had to resort to cheap Sunday supplements, comic strips, or the "entertainment" features which in other dailies take up so much of the space which should be devoted to facts. Mr. Ochs took a broken-down, bankrupt newspaper and built it up by clinging to the idea that success could be achieved by printing all the news that he could possibly afford to put into the paper. The stronger he grew financially, and the stronger his paper, the more news he crowded into its columns. When the World War came he seized upon it as a great opportunity and spent money like water in order to reproduce in full the important documents and speeches of the leaders of both camps.

Indeed, it may be said that he revived the old practice of printing speeches at length in the American press. More and more the trend had been to print only the speeches of the President of the United States. Others had to be content if a few paragraphs torn from the middle of an address found their way into print. Mr. Ochs changed all that; he taught the leading dailies that to make a record of contemporary documents and public utterances paid for itself in dollars and cents. The result has been that he has made his *Times* indispensable to many thousands even of those to whom its teachings are anathema, and especially to students, teachers, and journalists. It remains the fullest chronicle of our American life that is anywhere published. When I say this I do not forget its very grave limitations: that it is a class organ; that it discriminates in its news; that there are great groups in the community, huge minorities, whose aspirations are never chronicled in its columns. It is undeniable that bias often colors its dispatches, as witness the shocking falsehoods printed about Russia before Mr. Ochs wisely selected Walter Duranty to represent the *Times* in Moscow and gave him a free hand to write on the situation. It is essentially the organ of big business.

The news reporting of the *Times* has also suffered from inferior editing. It is often endlessly repetitious in the telling of a story. Nor can anyone deny that it is extremely zealous in behalf of the rich and influential. A man of the Insull type must fall far indeed before the *Times* can take note of it editorially, and its columns are always open to stalwarts like Owen D. Young and Nicholas Murray Butler. This is the more surprising in view of Mr. Ochs's humble origin and his rise from a working boy to the owner of the chief American newspaper. It would seem as if one with such a background could not have cut loose so completely from the aims and needs of the plain people from whom he sprang. In his endeavor to hold the scales even, and to keep the newspaper from appearing pro-Jewish, he leaned over backward in the treatment of his coreligionists—the *Times* would not even print Sir Stuart Samuels's report of the horrible Polish pogroms except as paid advertising. If it has to a considerable extent made up for this by its admirable reporting of events in Hitler's Germany, it has none the less never pleaded as ardently for the rights of the Jews as have some Gentile journals.

It was with the editorial page that Mr. Ochs made his great failure. That has been timid, halting, slow to just wrath, often unable to move until it found on which side were the largest battalions, utterly lacking in fearless leadership and ardent championship of a program—any program. For decades past it has hardly been possible to tell just where were the *Times's* sympathies in Presidential elections. It has, of course, been bitterly against anyone who could be suspected of endangering the existing order or the blessed capitalist system. But of constructive idealism, the kind of leadership which has made the *Manchester Guardian* ethically and spiritually the greatest daily in the world, there has been none. Timidity has been the controlling note, and that reflected Mr. Ochs himself, for his was not a combative nature. He hated to hurt anybody's feelings. While he probably knew that the kind of editorial page he ran was most likely to make friends, and was certain not to make any enemies for him and the *Times,* he would have leaned in that direction even had it been to his financial advantage to go in the other direction. He could have made the *Times* the greatest moral and political influence in the United States; instead, he made it merely the greatest reporter of American and world happenings.

Personally Mr. Ochs was one of the most modest and simple of men. He was never purse-proud or vainglorious. He did not permit the *Times* to record his doings or those of his family except in rare and altogether defensible instances. He wanted to make the *Times* the greatest newspaper institution in America, and he sincerely believed that his own personality and that of his editors should be absolutely subordinated. He accepted his great wealth almost with humility and gave generously and unostentatiously. His backing of the "Dictionary of American Biography" is one of the most striking instances of his many genuine services to the intellectual life of this country. Finally, when one contrasts his life and his journalistic achievements with those of Hearst, one must be profoundly grateful that Mr. Ochs set himself as high a standard as he did and clung to it when he could have added greatly to his means by imitating the tricks and vulgarities of some of his chief rivals.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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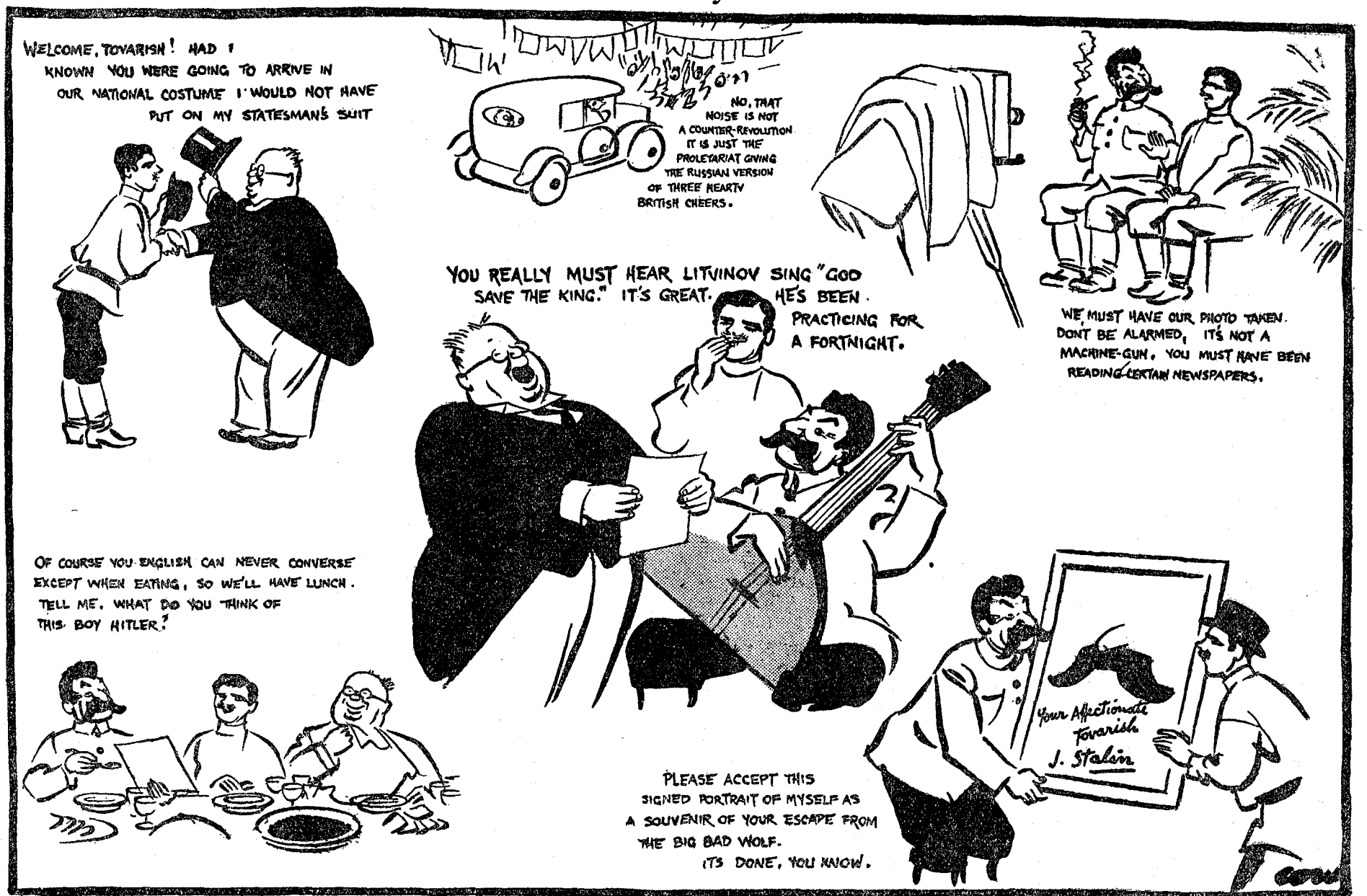
WELCOME, TOVARISH! HAD I KNOWN YOU WERE GOING TO ARRIVE IN OUR NATIONAL COSTUME I WOULD NOT HAVE PUT ON MY STATESMAN'S SUIT
NO, THAT NOISE IS NOT A COUNTER-REVOLUTION IT IS JUST THE PROLETARIAT GIVING THE RUSSIAN VERSION OF THREE HEARTY BRITISH CHEERS.
YOU REALLY MUST HEAR LITVINOV SING "GOD SAVE THE KING." IT'S GREAT. HE'S BEEN PRACTICING FOR A FORTNIGHT.
WE MUST HAVE OUR PHOTO TAKEN. DONT BE ALARMED, IT'S NOT A MACHINE-GUN. YOU MUST HAVE BEEN READING CERTAIN NEWSPAPERS.
OF COURSE YOU ENGLISH CAN NEVER CONVERSE EXCEPT WHEN EATING, SO WE'LL HAVE LUNCH. TELL ME, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS BOY HITLER?
PLEASE ACCEPT THIS SIGNED PORTRAIT OF MYSELF AS A SOUVENIR OF YOUR ESCAPE FROM THE BIG BAD WOLF. ITS DONE, YOU KNOW.
Your Affectionate Tovarish J. Stalin

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Mr. Roper the Perfect Lobbyist

By PAUL W. WARD

DANIEL CALHOUN ROPER, as Secretary of Commerce, holds the hat-check concession in the New Deal's vesting room for vested interests. As such, his role in the Rooseveltian preparations for the more abundant life is an obscure and menial one. But he errs who thinks it just that and nothing more. Uncle Dan is one of the most important figures in the New Dispensation, and I here formally predict that he will be remembered when the Tugwells, Hopkinses, and Moleys are forgotten.

Whether you agree with that prediction depends on three things. It depends on how indelibly the popular press has stamped upon you the impression that Uncle Dan is a fatuous cuss who is suffered to sit at the Cabinet table solely because the President had to toss a sop or two to that Cerberus, the Solid South. It depends more importantly on how close to the abyss of outright fascism you think Roosevelt has carried us. Finally, it depends on whether you are aware that three floors above the room in which General Hugh S. Johnson attended at the birth of the NRA, Uncle Dan has set up a machine which under favorable circumstances will some day change the New Deal into the corporative state.

He calls that machine his Business Advisory and Planning Council, and if it works ultimately as its inventor, Gerard Swope, intended, Uncle Dan will be pleased but not surprised. What will surprise him is to have its product labeled fascism. To him, as to an unfortunately large number of American citizens, including Mr. Swope, it will seem only the normal full-flowering of the modern American industrial system.

Uncle Dan—or "Dirty Dan," as the men in the Commerce Department press room refer to him for some obscure and piquant reason—is well acquainted with that system. At least forty-three of his sixty-eight years have been devoted to oiling its machinery. Born in Marlboro County, South Carolina, on All Fools' Day in 1867, he matriculated at what is now Duke University. At the tender age of twenty-five, he attained a seat in the South Carolina House of Representatives, where he remained only two years before passing on to greener pastures. His next berth was as clerk to the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Washington thenceforth was his home, and the gradual unfolding of its mysteries set up in Dan a yearning to become a lawyer. So he studied at W shington's National University, and was given an LL.B. in 1901.

In the meantime, Dan had passed from the Senate's payroll to that of the Census Bureau. From 1900 to 1910 he was an "expert special agent" of the bureau. Then he returned to Capitol Hill for further specialized training in the arts of government. From 1910 to 1913 he was clerk to the all-powerful House Ways and Means Committee. When Woodrow Wilson came to the throne in 1913, Uncle Dan promptly was elevated to the post of First Assistant Postmaster General under Burleson. He toiled nobly and well at that task until August, 1916, when he stepped out to become chairman of the organization bureau for Wilson's second Presidential campaign. For his activities in that sphere he was rewarded with two assignments. The first of these was temporary, the vice-chairmanship of the United States Tariff Commission, but it gave him an entree that was to be valuable later when he became a full-fledged lobbyist for Southern industrial interests, including the tobacco trust. He held the Tariff Commission post until September, 1917, when he was made Commissioner of Internal Revenue. That was the beginning of the Damon and Pythias relationship between Uncle Dan and William Gibbs McAdoo, now Senator from California, then Secretary of the Treasury; and that relationship explains why the McAdoo miasma has spread throughout the corridors and cubicles of the Commerce Department since Uncle Dan became its liege lord.

As Commissioner of Internal Revenue from 1917 to 1920, Uncle Dan had the job of installing this country's first income-tax system, and we have it on the word of the sardonic Virginian, Carter Glass, that he did a good administrative job. When the Harding landslide erased Uncle Dan's name from the public payroll, he felt only the unselfish regrets of an ardent Democrat. His pocket-book nerve was not pinched but titillated. His services as a lobbyist long had been in demand, and now there was added a demand for his services as an income-tax "consultant." Meanwhile he had accumulated a family of seven children and a horde of relatives, dozens of whom now clutter the federal payroll.

When 1924 rolled around, Uncle Dan, who never burns his bridges behind him, appeared on the scene as McAdoo's Presidential campaign manager. He had been going about the country organizing McAdoo clubs to head off "favorite son" movements—with especial success in the Ku Klux kingdoms of the South. He fought the good fight at Madison Square Garden with such Calvinist fury—he is a pious Methodist—that he earned the unquenchable hatred of Al Smith, whose nomination thereby was blocked. Even four years later Smith still was too much for him to stomach. Too wise in party politics to risk permanent excommunication by openly joining the Hoovercrats, he was, in his own words, "just inactive" in 1928, taking refuge in the fact that residents of Washington have no vote.

In 1932, however, Uncle Dan was back in harness and plunking for Roosevelt. He plunked, moreover, with such effectiveness that Franklin owes his nomination to Dan as much as to any other one man. It was Dan who engineered McAdoo's zero-hour switch from Garner to Roosevelt at Chicago. It also was Dan who, when Roosevelt campaign headquarters were about to close for lack of funds, dashed upon the scene with $50,000 and again saved the day. For these things he was rewarded with a Cabinet post.

In view of his background, it is no wonder that he has been one of the few high Administration officials who have not had to compromise their principles to keep their seats on the New Deal fence. Liberals snickered at his speeches assuring the country that Roosevelt had no designs upon the profit motive, but Uncle Dan was right as well as sincere. In his primordial politician's heart, he knew that Roosevelt's

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rhetorical promises were just so much sound and fury. He knew that, though the words and music were different, this was to be the same old political show. He has behaved accordingly and with, you may be sure, the complete approval of the President, who finds in him a well-disciplined and obliging aide with a remarkable talent for goose-greasing Congressmen, tycoons of industry and finance, bishops, and depressed and disillusioned liberals in the federal service. As one of the last-mentioned group sighed recently, "The man has a simply marvelous gift for cheering a fellow up." It is that gift in part that is responsible for the Washington press corps's inclination to regard Roper as comedy relief in the Roosevelt opera.

Uncle Dan long since has surpassed Hoover's record as a creator of survey and advisory committees. One of his most recent feats in that field was the appointment of an advisory committee on how to make people eat more fish. It is headed by none other than that great muscle-builder, Bernarr Macfadden. These committees are jokes to insiders, but proud is the business man whose country calls him in this painless fashion, and with such pride go votes and even more material manifestations of good-will in campaign years. Uncle Dan's fondness for censuses also has elicited snickers from sophisticates, who appreciate their job-making value. He is plugging at the moment for a $15,000,000 slice of the $4,880,000,000 work-relief fund so that he may conduct a "census of unemployment." He wants an additional $10,000,000 for a census of "business conditions."

Less amusing are the intra-departmental patronage wrangles in which he has become involved. In making way for deserving Democrats he has played havoc with the morale of the Commerce Department's personnel, and the situation has reached a point where something dangerously near to a rift exists between Uncle Dan and Dr. John Dickinson, the former University of Pennsylvania law professor who is First Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Dickinson, pompous but able, is half the proof we have to offer that the McAdoo influence in the department is not wholly miasmatic. The other half is the presence among the baronial gentry on the Business Advisory and Planning Council of William E. Woodward, the novelist and biographer of Washington and Grant. Woodward was put on the council nominally because he used to be an advertising man and a vice-president of the Industrial Finance Corporation, but the real reason behind his appointment probably is to be found in the fact that he "collaborated" with McAdoo on the latter's memoirs, "Crowded Years." Dickinson used to be one of McAdoo's law partners.

Dickinson's first major difficulty with Uncle Dan over protecting the department from patronage raids came in the case of Dr. Willard L. Thorp, the young Amherst College professor of economics who was director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce until the Senate-aspiring Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi got wind of the fact that Thorp was not a deserving Democrat and that Bilbo's rival, the then incumbent Senator from Mississippi, Hubert D. Stephens, was superintending Senate confirmation for the Thorp appointment. Bilbo threatened to make a campaign issue of it. Stephens appealed to Roper, and Roper, who understands such things much better than Dickinson, walked out on his pledge to support Thorp. Nor could President Roosevelt's support be enlisted under the circumstances; he too appreciated Stephens's plight. Dickinson, taking issue with his boss, had to fight alone for Thorp and in vain. With Thorp out of the way, a good Baptist and Democrat, Dr. Claudius T. Murchison of the University of North Carolina, was appointed to succeed him.

But of all the events that prejudiced Roper's status with the press corps and made him seem a comic character the most important was his clash with Johnson at the New Deal's outset. Roper sought control over the NRA, and the bull-roaring Johnson ostentatiously repulsed him. At the time it seemed just one more bit of evidence that Roosevelt meant what he said, that there was to be a New Deal, that this was to be a non-partisan Administration, and that conservative old-line politicos like Roper would not be permitted to tamper with such great humanitarian experiments as the NRA. The conflict between Johnson and Roper, however, was, like so many of the General's sorties, a sham battle. For, submitting to public immolation, Roper got a consolation prize. The White House encouraged him to put flesh upon Swope's idea and set up the Business Advisory and Planning Council. It was in the beginning a spawning pool for NRA administrative personnel. It named the NRA's Industrial Advisory Board. It also recruited most of the NRA's division, deputy, and assistant deputy administrators and many of the original members of the NRA's Research and Planning Division, as well as the industrial members of the old National Labor Board and many Administration members of those "industrial self-government" agencies, the code authorities. In other words, the council shaped the codes by picking the men who formulated them for Johnson.

It is not, however, with that early phase of the council's activities that we are concerned here, but with its current phase and ultimate goal. As to that goal, already mentioned, one need do no more than to recall a revealing remark dropped by Swope a year ago. He was rhapsodizing over the vistas opened up for business by the pyramid of industrial, labor, and consumers' advisory boards, topped by his brain-child, the Business Advisory and Planning Council. There would be, there was, nothing like it in all the world, he said, and then added in a muttered afterthought: "Except possibly in Italy."

Swope was the council's first chairman and remains one of its fifty members. Its second chairman was S. Clay Williams of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, who stepped from the council into the chairmanship of the National Industrial Recovery Board set up by Roosevelt to succeed Johnson at the NRA's helm. Williams, who left the NIRB in March to return to his duties as chief lobbyist for the tobacco trust, was brought into the New Deal by Roper, an old friend, and by him sold to Roosevelt. What Roosevelt bought is best shown by the following extract from a speech which New Dealer Williams made on January 17 at New York:

> Theories of redistribution of wealth . . . [have been] hawked around irresponsibly without any recognition, for the time being at least, on the part of some people that there is and can be no such thing as a complete redistribution of wealth. . . . It's the rich man who can do for the rest of us many, many things that we can't do for ourselves. And he should have our encouragement—selfishly given, if you please—if for no other reason, because of those important services that he alone is in position to render. . . . In addition to all of the employment and the volume of

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business he creates or handles when in full activity, he is paying a lot of taxes that the rest of us would have a hard time paying. So there's no occasion for worrying further about the rich man in America.

Williams was succeeded as chairman of the council by H. P. Kendall, a Massachusetts Republican. Mr. Kendall is a textile manufacturer and banker who points to his membership in the Taylor Society and his two works on "Profit Sharing" and "Profit Sharing and Stock Ownership for Employees," as proof that he is a New Dealer in good standing. He recently appeared before the Senate Finance Committee considering NRA extension, and in behalf of the council urged that the present Recovery Act be extended virtually without change, that the Black thirty-hour-week bill be defeated, and that the Wagner Labor Disputes bill be similarly treated. Digressing for a moment, he asked a favor for his own industry—abandonment of the processing tax on cotton.

Some of the other leading members of the Business Advisory and Planning Council are Winthrop W. Aldrich, the new saint of Wall Street; Pierre S. du Pont; Walter S. Gifford of American Tel and Tel; Henry I. Harriman, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Fred I. Kent of the Bankers' Trust Company, New York, who is listed in the council's roster as treasurer of the National Industrial Conference Board; E. T. Stannard of Kennecott Copper; Myron C. Taylor of United States Steel; Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil; and Thomas J. Watson of International Business Machines. H. R. Stafford, of the Morgan-controlled Missouri Pacific, and John J. Raskob were members of the council at one time.

Not all the council's members are men whose names appear in the roster of big business. One of the relatively small business men on the council, and one of its chief spokesmen as well, is Ralph E. Flanders, a Springfield, Vermont, machinery manufacturer. It was Flanders who broke the Roosevelt-Johnson shorter-hours and higher-wages movement in the spring of 1934. After both Roosevelt and the General had urged the national conference of code authorities to join the movement, Flanders delivered such a devastating attack on the whole theory that scores of industrialists who had come prepared to board the Roosevelt-Johnson band-wagon tore up their speeches that night and wrote new ones in the Flanders vein.

Flanders still carried the torch when the NRA held a national conference in January of this year on revision of employment provisions in the codes. Asserting that the nation should abandon classified wage minima and that it can lift itself to recovery only by whole-hearted encouragement of the profit system, Flanders went on to explain what members of the Business Advisory and Planning Council mean by profits:

> No paltry 5 or 6 per cent is sufficient as a basis for our needed expansion of business enterprise. That will barely pay the bank interest—and enterprise is full of risk. It is the prospect for 10, 20, 50 per cent profit that makes the justifiable risk, opens the sluice gates of bank credit, expands employment, and multiplies the production and distribution of goods.

With such men as these Roper is building the perfect lobby. That is the council's second phase, and it began on January 17 after Kendall and Roper had conferred with Roosevelt for two hours. There then issued from Roper's office an announcement that thenceforth "any business man or organization desiring to be heard on any piece of pending or proposed legislation may get a hearing through the council." "Information and suggestions communicated to it will be passed along to subcommittees for consideration and later communicated to different members of the Cabinet. They, in turn, will route the suggestion through whatever channels they see fit." What could be sweeter? No more need our masters brave the drafty corridors of Congress to wangle legislation to their choosing. Furthermore, the government henceforth will not only insure their lobbyists quick and effective contacts in high places, but provide them with offices and stenographers and pay their expenses out of tax funds. Consummation of this pact between business and the White House was celebrated by the council that night at a dinner held in the Mayflower Hotel. It was attended by Hopkins, Wallace, Davis, and Jesse Jones, by White House Secretaries Early and McIntyre, by Roper of course, by Representative Rayburn, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, by Representative Oliver of the House Appropriations Committee, and by Senator Harrison, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Significantly, the assemblage was closed to the press. Said Uncle Dan to the diners: "The watchword of this meeting is cooperation."

There was more snickering when the pact was announced. Persons of stubborn faith in the New Deal myth set the announcement down as just another Roper bid for the front page. Those snickerings have died down as evidences of the pact's reality keep piling up. Chief among those evidences was the recent visit to the White House of a group of packers and distributors who are members of the council. There are many such—James F. Bell of General Mills, Ernest G. Draper of Hills Brothers, Howard Heinz of the H. J. Heinz Company, R. Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats, and Thomas H. McInnerney of National Dairy Products—and they are all opposed, perforce, to the AAA's attempts to regulate the spread between the prices they pay producers and the prices they extract from consumers. At the moment they are fighting amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act that would give the AAA power to examine their books and records, and the committee's White House visit was a part of that fight.

They, at least, did not underestimate the council's pact with Roosevelt. They went to the White House announcing that they proposed to discuss the AAA amendments. It was a shockingly clumsy performance. Roosevelt sent out word that he could not discuss pending legislation. So the committee came back the next day to discuss "the general recovery program" and was admitted. Uncle Dan denied complicity. He also denied that one member of the council spoke for the Commerce Department when he appeared before a Congressional committee to testify against the AAA amendments.

Yes, these and other happenings have stilled the snickerings that greeted announcement of the Business Advisory and Planning Council's second-phase transition, but there should have been no snickerings in the beginning. There would have been none had the extent to which, behind the scenes, Roosevelt is wooing big business been generally known. Especially would there have been none if the White

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House were closely watched on Sunday nights, for of late there has been a curious stream of visitors on those evenings. What started as merely a fortuitous circumstance has become something approaching a habit. One Sunday night when Uncle Dan, who revels in the company of industrial bourbons, was giving one of his suppers for a group of such supermen, there came a call from the White House. Franklin suggested that Uncle Dan drop over for a chat. What? The Secretary had guests? Why, bring 'em along. That was the beginning of a series of such White House visits, and now Roper's star is in the ascendant. He has got himself two new press agents, and soon we shall witness his apotheosis. What price New Deal then?

[*The third article of Mr. Ward's series on "F. D. R.—the Boss in the Back Room," A Revaluation of Secretary Wallace, will appear in the issue of May 8.*]

The Red Scare: A Case History

By SAMUEL GRAFTON

THE red scare is on full blast in this the spring of 1935. It was on full blast last year, too, but the red scare of this spring is a different red scare from the one of the spring of 1934, or even of last summer. It is slowly changing its form and its manner; leaving the sporadic for the systematic, replacing the hit-or-miss attack with the organized push. For a view of the red scare in its new form it is necessary to be something more than a careful reader of the papers or an attendant at Bill of Rights rallies. It is one thing to read about the red scare and quite another to live with it; the new red scare has to be lived with to be appreciated. To illustrate its methods I offer the cases of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., and one of its constituent bodies, the New York City School for Workers.

Although both organizations function under the best of auspices, and neither preaches the overthrow of the government by force and violence, or even the overthrow of the government, or any line of political action whatsoever, both have for almost a year been subjected to an exquisite hounding, one well calculated to hurt their standing with the general public, cut off their normal financial support, and disrupt their day-to-day work. Their hounders are an assortment of some of our best newspapers and some of our most exclusive patriotic societies; their crime is that both organizations believe that schools for workers must, to carry out the first principles of education, present to their pupils samples of every shade of economic thought, even though these may include ideas lacking the sanction of the pundit of San Simeon. To the hounders, who are accustomed to give their readers only what they think is good for them, eclecticism is subversive.

Since this is a case history, a bit of background is needed. The Affiliated Schools for Workers grew out of the Summer School for Women in Industry which was started in Bryn Mawr in 1921 under the aegis of Hilda Smith. The school was so successful that it led to the creation of similar schools in Wisconsin, at Weaverville, North Carolina, at West Park, New York, and at Oberlin and Barnard. The Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., is the coordinating organization, acting as a clearing-house and helping in problems of finance, curricula, research, and recruiting of faculty and students. The New York City School for Workers is an outgrowth of the New York Summer School for Workers, and is a member school of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc. The New York City School for Workers is at present functioning in a building of the Henry Street Settlement, while the parent organization is in a Columbia University building at 302 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York. Neither organization has ever received a cent of public funds, drawing support entirely from small private contributions, with occasional minor grants from educational foundations. Last summer the facilities of both were seized upon to give "made work" to unemployed teachers on relief rolls, and that is when the red hunt started. It is still going strong.

When the patrioteers became aware last July that the New York City School for Workers, then the New York Summer School for Workers, was making use of some fifteen unemployed teachers on work-relief payrolls, the school became marked prey. The persecution was on. The use of relief teachers was proof positive that the United States Treasury was "supporting" the school. The presence of a handful of Communist pamphlets in the school library—in addition to "Looking Forward" by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and "Restating the Law" by George W. Wickersham—was sufficient proof that the school was an agency of the Communist Party. Put two and two together and it was easy to demonstrate that "red theories" were being "taught free by Uncle Sam," as one Tom Cassidy, red-hunter for the New York *Daily News*, put it after a visit to the library. From the day Captain Patterson and William Randolph Hearst discovered that Earl Browder's "What Every Worker Should Know About NRA" was on the reading rack, the school became the center of an E. Phillips Oppenheim nightmare of high-class spying, snooping, intrigue, and various other forms of master-minding in defense of the republic. A somewhat mysterious organization calling itself the Allied Patriotic Societies joined Hearst and the *Daily News* in the holy war, and the school has ever since been filled with the scratching of stenographers' pencils busy taking secret transcripts of classroom discussions and assembly proceedings for immediate publication in the red-hunting newspapers and speedy transmission to various Congressional committees, Mr. Dickstein's group of Rover Boys in search of a Revolution not the least among them.

At first some pretense of fairness was made; the *Daily News* even pointed out that the radical pamphlets were only part of the supplementary reading available to the students. But this didn't make very good copy, and in a short time the *News* was chattering about "red teaching" at the institution and the New York *American* daily stood aghast at the spectacle of "Communist doctrine" being "taught to relief students." (One of the circumstances that incensed

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these newspapers most was that the seventy-five students of the school were on relief. The FERA had been conducting an experiment in education for the unemployed under Miss Hilda Smith, putting students in residence at various schools throughout the country, a work in which the Affiliated Schools rendered valuable service. Since there were no facilities for putting New York City students in residence they were given $8 a week apiece in compensation.) The *Daily News* ran a two-column picture of some of the horrendous pamphlets found in the school library. In a tasteful layout it showed such gory items as the Browder NRA pamphlet, "The Working Woman in the Soviet Union," Clarence Hathaway's "Why a Workers' Daily Press?" and I. Amter's "Why the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill?" The *News* was particularly impressed by the fact that this work was sponsored by the noted Hilda Smith, whom it discovered to be "a blonde Washington New Dealer." Describing the Browder pamphlet as "one of the most popular pieces of student brain-fodder in the supplementary study rack," it lifted from that work the quotation: "Push aside the capitalists, open the warehouses, distribute the goods to all who need them. Under Roosevelt and the NRA the millions of workers are getting less food, less clothing, less shelter than they did under Hoover." While the *News* was headlining this threat to our institutions, headquarters detectives invaded the school building, demanding to know what brand of politics was being taught the students and whether it was true that the students were being asked to join the American Workers' Party. The Hearst press quoted students—without naming a single name—as "asserting" that they had been given so-called revolutionary material for study and had been told that the government's economic system should be supplanted by socialism. Students returning home from their classes found reporters waiting for them on their doorsteps with the request that they fill out questionnaires to reveal whether they were being indoctrinated, and with what. The magazine *Time* enjoyed itself in its quiet way by running an article entitled Little Red Schoolhouse under the general heading "Radicals," in which it was pretty plainly indicated that Marxist high jinks were going on. When Hilda Smith at Washington spurned the suggestion that federal aid be withdrawn from the school and maintained that it was only sound educational policy to present every point of view, the headlines ran: "Defends Red Teaching for Paid Students" and "U. S. Officials Defend Use of Radical Books."

From last summer until the present time the attack has continued. In February the Washington *Herald* broke out into a rash about the Communist FERA schools in New York City; in March the New York *American* resumed the offensive. There had been a hiatus between August and January for the very good reason that the New York City School for Workers had been unable to find classroom accommodations during that period. In January, however, it located itself in an empty Henry Street Settlement house, and then the fun was resumed on a scale previously unknown.

There had been plenty of snooping all summer. The famous library had been visited so regularly by spies in search of the evidence that by August its collection of two hundred books and pamphlets had been reduced to exactly three. Only Burke's "Call Home the Heart," the Siftons' "1931," and an "Economic History of Europe in Modern Times" had been left for the use and improvement of the students. When the school bravely started life again on Henry Street, it found the investigators on the scene even before the students. Early in January a Mr. Beaumont of the "Naval and Military Order," an affiliate of the Allied Patriotic Societies, appeared, announced that he was an FERA official of Mount Vernon, New York, fighting subversive doctrines, and asked if they had any subversive doctrines. He said he was checking on reports that the school was teaching the methods of running a general strike, and wanted Miss Madeline Gilmore, supervisor of the school, to answer whether she taught communism, yes or no? Not satisfied that all was as it should be, Mr. Beaumont complained directly to the FERA officials against the school. Next came a Mr. Kinnicut of the Allied Patriotic Societies, who wrote to FERA officials warning them that the school they harbored was the same one that had taught communism the summer before, and that it was "starting up again." (Mr. Kinnicut's crusher was a secret stenographic transcript of a statement by a student in class, who excused himself for being late on the ground that he had been picketing at Ohrbach's. This proved communism.) Mr. Kinnicut insisted that the school be wiped out at once. In February the Allied Patriotic Societies held a mass-meeting at which a letter was drawn up to be sent to Washington, complaining directly to Congress against the school and demanding its dissolution. A similar complaint was filed with the New York City Board of Education, which of course has nothing to do with the New York City School for Workers. The attempt is constantly made to withdraw the relief teachers from the school, and continual pressure is exerted for a Congressional investigation.

Miss Gilmore reports that at present the school receives three or four mysterious visitors daily from the papers and the patriotic societies. They fall into a standard type which she has come to recognize. They wander in and look around for books. She finds them hiding behind doors and edging into classrooms. When questioned, the visitors say they would like to study at the school. When they are asked what they would like to study, a certain sly look comes into their eyes and they suggest demurely that a course in "Marxian economics" would suit them fine. Informed that the school doesn't have any courses in Marxian economics, the visitors sometimes grow very confidential and offer to teach one. But when they find themselves unable to draw out any damaging admissions, they invariably stammer and retreat. The next day a new assortment is on hand.

Well, you may say, all this is interesting and proves there is a red scare on, but does it really amount to anything? Are the two institutions, the parent Affiliated Schools for Workers and the New York City School for Workers, being harmed in any way? To that the answer is to cite what has been happening. The New York City School for Workers does not know when some panicky official will withdraw its relief teachers. Pressure for such withdrawal, directed against general FERA headquarters in Washington, against Congressional committees, against local FERA people, never ends. The school has found it hard to get the most rudimentary supplies. Its building on Henry Street, the only one it was able to get, is a dusty century-old brick house, without equipment, without enough chairs, with railroad posters on the walls to hide the cracks in the plaster.

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Requests for relief workers to paint the place have been honored only after months of delay, in spite of the very evident friendliness of some relief officials.

As for the Affiliated Schools for Workers, it has just learned, in a daze, that Bryn Mawr has invited it to stay away this summer, that there will be no summer school on the Bryn Mawr campus this year. The board of the summer school will, however, conduct its school elsewhere. Has the red hunt reached Bryn Mawr? Only a few weeks ago Bryn Mawr officials were praising the summer school for giving working girls "the graces of life." In a recent appeal for endowment contributions the summer school was prominently stressed as one of Bryn Mawr's most meritorious activities. The summer-school-for-workers idea began at Bryn Mawr, it has been there fourteen years, and now, with no explanation that makes good sense, it is to be tossed out.

Few of the problems of these two institutions are reaching the papers; no account of their work is ever printed at any great length. But the spectacular charges of radicalism are making the papers right along. The pressure of the patriots grows stronger daily; the schools are on the defensive and are being pushed back. One of the battles of the red scare of 1935 is being fought on this front, a quiet struggle likely to end in a quiet, unnoticed defeat, to the gain of no one and to the loss of hundreds of intelligent workers in search of education and understanding. One must live with that sort of thing to understand what the red scare in this the spring of 1935 is really like.

Corporation vs. Corporation

By FERDINAND LUNDBERG

AN extremely significant struggle is taking place among corporations under the stress of the economic crisis. As was forecast by the Darrow Board of Review, the NRA is strengthening monopoly. Figures in support of this contention are supplied in the March, 1935, bulletin of the National City Bank.

Under the New Deal, as everyone knows, there has been a sharp increase in the earnings of big corporations, which has had repercussions in the political field. Hence the warning of the National City Bank:

> We have referred to the probability that the earnings of all corporations, which are reported by the Treasury after the income-tax returns are compiled and will not be available for 1934 until late this year, may vary considerably from those of the limited number which make public reports; and therefore caution our readers that any general conclusions they may draw from these reports should be held subject to amendment. *Over a period of years the profits of all corporations have been decidedly poorer than those of the sample group.*

The last and highly pertinent sentence is the thesis of this article. The going has been very rough for most corporations during the crisis years of 1929-35, but a "sample" group has, especially since early in 1933, shown extremely large profits. The conclusion is inescapable that the larger corporations are obtaining an ever-tightening hold on the market as the fierce competition for diminished internal business increases. This is well illustrated in the automobile industry, where Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors have obtained about 93 per cent of the available automobile business, while all the other companies have only 7 per cent.

The National City Bank, in combating the notion that *all* corporations are making huge profits, wishes to make an oblique criticism of the political outcry against extortionate corporate profits when prices are rising and some 20,000,000 people are recipients of relief. The bank's bulletin says:

> Thus the 1933 earnings of 1,475 manufacturing and trading corporations, published [in the bank bulletin] one year ago, showed net profits for this group of $660,655,000. However, the preliminary Treasury report, issued in December, showed profits for all manufacturing corporations of only $73,000,000. The discrepancy was even more marked in non-manufacturing corporations. The published reports of 1,925 corporations in all lines of business for 1933 showed earnings of $1,045,019,000, but the Treasury's report for all corporations showed a loss of $2,359,000,000.

The situation is, indeed, a great deal more serious than the disparity between the last two amounts indicates, for these figures do not show what the total loss would be if the 1,925 more profitable corporations were removed from the statistical computation. It would be enormously greater than $2,359,000,000. True, very few companies had profits in 1931 or 1932. But the very largest companies are now making good the losses they sustained in those years, whereas the smaller companies, under the New Deal policies, are not.

The National City Bank makes a very interesting tabulation of the difference in percentage of earnings to net worth between the handful of big corporations making public reports for Wall Street perusal and all the corporations of the country making income-tax reports to the Treasury. The tabulation follows (based on the income of manufacturing corporations only):

RATIO OF NET EARNINGS TO NET WORTH

	Treasury Reports All Companies	*Preliminary Reports of Big Companies Only*
1928	6.72 per cent	12.1 per cent
1929	7.34 " "	13.5 " "
1930	1.54 " "	6.7 " "
1931	D 2.07 " "	2.5 " "
1932	D 3.22 " "	D 0.4 " "
1933	—— " "	2.6 " "
1934	—— " "	5.0 " "

D—deficit

The ratio of net profit to net worth for all corporations in the years 1933 and 1934 has not yet been computed, but on the basis of the $2,359,000,000 loss suffered by all corporations in 1933 it is clear that a percentage deficit will be shown. It is probable that corporations in the aggregate will also show a continued loss for 1934 when the complete Treasury figures are made available. This may be assumed because even the corporations favored by the New Deal policies, under which the anti-trust laws were suspended, did not do so well in the latter six months of 1934. But

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the very largest among them continued to pile up profits in that year, according to the preliminary compilation by the National City Bank. For 1,435 of the biggest corporations which figure in the preliminary report for 1934 the total profit was $1,051,000,000, less deficits, compared with a total profit of $640,000,000 in 1933, an increase of 64 per cent. The ratio of earnings to net worth was 4.5 per cent in 1934 and 2.7 per cent in 1933, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

What we may conclude from these figures is that many of the smaller corporations face extinction in the next few years through failures, mergers, absorption, or discontinuance. In short, the field is being cleared for unrestricted exploitation by the very largest corporations, which, unless checked, will continue among themselves the fight for enlarged shares of the national income. We are quite obviously in a period in which monopoly is being consolidated and in which the smaller business man, running a corporation with assets of a million or two or less, is making his last stand. The political form of the small business man's final stand is translated into a demand for inflation by any method. This cannot save him. Even if inflation of an extreme type develops, the relative position of the large trusts will be unchanged, and owing to the ability of the large corporations to take advantage of any such development, they may be strengthened even more.

The Fight on the New Indian Policy

Washington, April 15

CONGRESSMAN WERNER: You wrote a tribute, did you not, to Eye-sadore Duncan, called "The Modern Age"?

INDIAN COMMISSIONER JOHN COLLIER: I think I wrote some poetry about her.

A CONGRESSMAN: Who is this Eysadore Duncan?

WERNER: I should like to insert in the record two stanzas of poetry written by John Collier concerning Eye-sadore Duncan. I should like to have inserted with it "My Life" by Eye-sadore Duncan, so that we may further get the Commissioner's viewpoint and know his high regard for the extremists in radicalism.

THIS snippet of dialogue from the hearings of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Indian Affairs is offered to indicate the level of the criticism of John Collier's administration of the Indian Bureau current in Washington these days. Congressman Theodore B. Werner, editor of the Rapid City *Guide,* of Rapid City, South Dakota, is not one of the House authorities on radicals. The note on Isadora Duncan had been supplied him just before the committee hearing began; no doubt it was the first time he had ever heard of the dancer. But when Mr. Collier wanted to insert in the record some remarks of the late Justice Holmes on free speech, Mr. Werner counter-blasted with this broadside about Isadora Duncan.

Free speech came to be germaine to the discussion of Indian affairs because Collier was under attack for having close personal relations with Roger Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union. The implication was that a man who believed in Baldwin believed in shielding Communists, therefore believed in advocating the overthrow of the American government by force and violence, therefore was not fit to be Indian Commissioner, therefore his Indian policy must be tainted.

Another charge against Collier was that he had sent a telegram to a Russian named Shevky, urging him to take out first-citizenship papers so that he could be employed by the Indian Bureau. Here the implication was that Collier must be importing a Moscow Communist to sow seeds of sedition among the Indians. This sixteen-inch shell proved to be a dud and did not explode. Shevky is none other than Dr. Esheref Shevky, a celebrated biologist and a Turk, a resident of this country since 1916. He did take out first papers so that he could accept a position with Collier in the Indian service. "Show me another Shevky, and if he is from Baluchistan I shall urge him to take out his first papers so that I can employ him in the Indian Bureau," Collier told the committee.

Collier had praised the Indian administration in Mexico, since it is far along the road to the results which the Collier administration has begun to envisage. So the record of the committee was enriched with the oath required of teachers in Mexico: "I am a Socialist and an atheist, an irreconcilable enemy of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and I will endeavor to destroy it." The implication here, of course, is that Collier must be a Socialist and an atheist, committed to destroy the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion.

This is recounted not so much in indignation, or even as a reminder that frustrated people take to sniping and stone-throwing, but to call attention again to the fundamental change in our Indian policy and to the danger that it may be negatived. After a generation of trying to individualize the Indians, we are now committed to Indianizing them. They have lost two-thirds of their land in the great experiment of making individualists out of tribesmen. The Wheeler-Howard act of last year, the greatest Indian reform in our history, is now the national policy. Its principles will be extended this year to Oklahoma, if the Thomas-Rogers bill passes. The change, however, has left inevitable malcontents. When the Indians repossess their lands now leased to white men, the white men will be economic losers. When the boarding-school system finally is closed down, and Indians have charge of their own education, white people will be out of work and pocket. Missionaries to whom the Indians were delivered up for conversion, almost as in handcuffs, by the law (since Americans must be Christians) will be out of a job, and a small minority of them naturally believe it is better to "civilize" and convert than to restore old tribal controls and beliefs. Under the new regime Indians will be able to develop their own resources by their own labor, and white men—for instance, those in the lumber business on leased Indian lands—will not make the profits they are accustomed to. Such are the interests against the new Indian policy. Some are pocket-book interests, some are interests of sincere faith. And they have focused this spring chiefly on the person of John Collier.

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These are times when to shout "radical" at a man in office is as destructive as to shout "adulterer" at a bishop. Ultimately Collier had to come before the subcommittee and meet these charges. He did so without injury to his policy or himself, and thus demonstrated the benefit of free speech, even among Congressional tittle-tattles.

The spearhead of the assault on the Indian policy has been a certain Joseph Bronner, an Indian with the splendid title of president of the American Indian Federation. When Mr. Bronner descended on Washington affirming that forty tribes were fighting the Wheeler-Howard regime, it sounded as though the Indians were confounding the anthropologists and were clamoring for Americanization. Chief Bronner got a good deal of publicity and helped confuse the issue. But a study of his credentials showed that he represented fewer than 3,000 mission Indians in California, and the handful of men with him did not have authorization from a single tribe to speak for it at Washington. Once he had been deflated, the core of the Indian opposition collapsed.

The Wheeler-Howard act, it is worth recalling, left it for the Indians to vote whether they would come under its provisions. They thus are able to organize tribally—call it cooperatively if you will—and obtain credit and lands for cooperative ownership and administration. The elections necessarily are slow. The Navajos, for instance, are still debating the proposition, though some of the tribes have voted for it already, and none have voted against it. In all the elections so far held, 73 per cent of the Indians have voted for the new system.

The bill now before Congress, applying the same principles to Oklahoma Indians, does not insist on a tribal organization. The tribal life of Oklahoma Indians had been too much damaged to be restored. The omelet cannot be unscrambled. So the Thomas-Rogers bill provides for purely cooperative organization before the credit of the government becomes available. Though guardianship is being revived, it is only to assist in giving Indians a corporate life as free as any they have had since civilization engulfed them.

While the principle of Indianization has been laid down as federal policy, there still is a chance to nullify it by withholding money to implement the new law. The attack this year has been on Collier, but its ultimate aim is to remove all federal guardianship over the Indians. In 1887 a similar drive culminated in the General Allotment Act. In the ensuing forty-five years the Indians lost 90,000,000 acres of land, and have left only 48,000,000 acres, half of them desert; millions of acres have been lost beyond recovery. Again in 1908 federal protection was withdrawn from Oklahoma Indians. At the time they had 15,000,000 acres of good land, and they have now been expelled from or lost nine-tenths of it. Today 72,000 Oklahoma Indians have no land whatever, and Americanization has meant in most cases a pitiful kind of destitution. Another "liberating" drive was made in 1912, and the Chippewas of Minnesota lost their timber and their lands. In 1917 the scheme of fee-patenting land was resorted to, with the consequence that 95 per cent of the Indians who took advantage of it were totally landless within a few years. The present drive would mean the same ultimate fate for the Indians who are still in possession of land.

The new administration of Indian affairs can be looked at in two ways. There is the tendency to speak a little sententiously of the Indians as perfect testing people for new ideas of cooperation and planning. I suppose they are; and if a success is made of cooperation among Indians it might be followed by like ventures for other depressed groups. The other way is to look at the Indians with an eye to their glamor, their value as sheer color in an otherwise uniform American life, and with due remembrance of the everlasting injustice done them by conquest and betrayal. To those persons who are going to lose through every gain made by the Indians, this aesthetic attitude is meaningless. But there are only 150,000 or so pure-blooded Indians left in the country, and not many more half-bloods. The problem will never be gigantic. The ones who will be hurt bring much more than their share of the political pressure at Washington. And they resort to arguments, like Eye-sadore Duncan, which betray them by their fatuity. For the rest of the nation the new Indian regime is a blessing. It is a belated but reasonable and intelligent policy. It is of scientific importance in that it teaches what can be done by cooperation. But it is still more valuable for conserving an artistic human resource of the rarest value—what is more precious than a great native culture?—and for recognizing that civilization does not consist in everybody within a frontier being like everybody else. I do not know which aspect of the new policy has converted Senator Thomas. Two years ago he was an outstanding foe of the Wheeler-Howard bill. After that fight he spent some weeks studying the problem of the Oklahoma Indians first hand. To his credit he had the intellectual honesty to change his mind and now is sponsor for the Thomas-Rogers bill of this year. R. G. S.

Correspondence

Public Enemy Number One

To the Editors of The Nation:

Since William Randolph Hearst has publicly demanded that I be dismissed from my academic post, I wish to make public the following sequence of events, which will prove illuminating to all interested in the tactics of the Hearst press.

On November 14, 1934, the Chicago *Herald-Examiner* published a report of a meeting of the University of Chicago Student Union Against War and Fascism, in which I and several other people were grossly misquoted. In a letter to the editor, Mr. Watson, I protested against this misrepresentation and incidentally called attention to the fact that the alleged quotation from Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat which was then appearing at the top of the editorial pages of all the Hearst papers was nowhere to be found in Lenin's writings. Mr. Watson sent my protest to Mr. Hearst, who asked Mr. Charles Wheeler of the *Herald-Examiner* to "investigate." I received Mr. Wheeler in the presence of a third person and was shown material from his files showing conclusively that I had been "accidentally" misquoted—a fact which Mr. Wheeler blandly conceded. He also conceded that the Lenin "quotation" was a pure invention. "We just do what the Old Man orders. One week he orders a campaign against rats. The next week he orders a campaign against dope-peddlers. Pretty soon he's going to campaign against college professors. It's all the bunk, but orders are orders."

Shortly afterward a New York anti-Nazi group requested

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me to prepare a series of replies to the syndicated articles by Göring appearing periodically in the Sunday issues of the Hearst papers. The International News Service (Hearst) encouraged the group to believe that an opportunity would be given for such replies. Two articles were submitted. Both were refused. The Hearst press has subsequently published more articles by Göring and one by Alfred Rosenberg, all of them consisting of crude pro-Nazi propaganda of the most blatant type. When it became clear that the I. N. S. would refuse all proffered replies to these misrepresentations of the situation in Germany, the New York group abandoned negotiations, convinced that Mr. Hearst is now an authorized disseminator of Nazi propaganda in the United States.

Meanwhile the "campaign against professors" materialized. On February 23 I delivered an address on Communism and Liberalism before the Cook County League of Women Voters, in which I traced the historical relationship between the two ideologies, quoted with approval the Declaration of Independence, and made a plea for a new liberalism adequate to the exigencies of today. Mr. Charles Wheeler attended the lecture. In the *Herald-Examiner* of February 24 it was reported under the headline: "Hope Lies in Soviets, U. of C. Teacher Says; Decries Liberalism of Washington." The article contained numerous statements in quotation marks which were purely products of Mr. Wheeler's imagination. In the same issue all the Hearst papers throughout the nation editorially condemned a number of educators as "advisers to Moscow" and "authorized disseminators of communistic propaganda in the United States who deliberately and designedly mislead our fine young people and bring them up to be disloyal to our American ideals and institutions and stupidly to favor the brutal and bloody tyranny of Soviet Russia." The victims of this slanderous attack were all persons who have publicly criticized the Nazi regime in Germany. They included Robert M. Hutchins, Charles H. Judd, John Dewey, George Counts, Hallie Flanagan, Susan Kingsbury, I. L. Kandel, William F. Russell, Henry P. Fairchild, Frank P. Graham, Howard Odum, and others.

On March 16, 1935, the *Herald-Examiner*—with Hearst papers elsewhere copying—published an editorial, "Schuman of Chicago," which took out of their context two of Mr. Wheeler's misquotations and presented them as evidence that I am making a "direct challenge to American institutions in the name of communism." I was further accused of having "just written a book on Russia which has been approved by Moscow." (I have never written a book on Russia. My doctoral dissertation, "American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917," was published in 1928 and was rejected for translation by Gosizdat, the Moscow State Publishing House, because it was not written from the Communist viewpoint.) The editorial described me as one of "these American panderers and trap-baiters for the Moscow mafia," who should be investigated by Congress and "gotten rid of" as a "red."

This is but one of numerous instances of slanderous and libelous attacks upon American educators in the Hearst press. This strategy is exactly comparable to that of the Nazi press in Germany between 1920 and 1933. Mr. Hearst has evidently been taking lessons from Göring, Goebbels, Rosenberg, and Hitler. No individual can defend himself effectively from these assaults. If American universities and colleges are to be spared the fate which has befallen such institutions in Germany, if American scholars and educators are to be protected from fascist bludgeoning of this type, if American traditions of freedom are to survive, Mr. Hearst must be recognized as the propagandist and forerunner of American Hitlerism and must be met with a united counter-attack by all Americans who still value their liberties.

Chicago, April 10 FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

California Workers Undefeated

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The article by Norman Mini in your issue of February 20 contains numerous misstatements of fact. I shall be glad if you will allow me to correct the most glaring.

1. Mr. Mini writes: "The union leaders, mostly Communists, had taken an extremely hostile stand toward the growers from the very first; no compromise was possible to them." This does not correctly state the attitude of the union, or the policy of the Communist Party toward farmers. The most important factor was not considered by the writer of the article, namely, the difference between the small grower and tenant farmer (especially in cotton) on the one side and the rich grower, the corporation farms, and the agricultural finance companies on the other. The attitude of the union toward the small and middle grower can be shown by the fact that not long after the cotton strike, union members, together with members of the Communist Party, succeeded in organizing in the heart of the cotton area a group of sixty small and middle farmers into the United Farmers' League.

On the matter of compromise: the union at all times advised strikers not to prolong struggle for its own sake, but to effect compromises wherever they were tactically wise—the object of the union being not perpetual strife (nor the "ruination of California harvests") but actual wage increases.

2. "As a result of the strike [in Brentwood] wages were reduced from 20 cents to 15 cents an hour. After that the union folded up." Here the writer overlooks a significant development in the agricultural trade-union movement. Not only were legal and extra-legal methods of terror and slander against the union and its officials used, but the agricultural-financial interests appealed to the leadership of the State Federation of Labor of the A. F. of L. to "organize" the agricultural workers. The A. F. of L. made its first coincidental appearance in the Brentwood strike immediately after our union organizers had been arrested. The authorities gave the A. F. of L. organizer full assistance. As a result of this A. F. of L. leadership, wages on the important corporation ranches were cut from 20 cents to 15 cents an hour. This was indeed a defeat in that valley, for the large corporations are always the ones who set the wage standard.

3. It is true, as the article states, that "its leaders, including Pat Chambers and Caroline Decker, have been in jail in Sacramento since July 20." But it is quite incorrect to say that "the valleys are quiet . . . the agricultural workers, the key to the California situation, have been defeated again."

Since our arrest, a number of agricultural strikes have taken place. A strike of 6,000 lettuce pickers and packers in Salinas Valley in August, 1934, was led by the A. F. of L. Vegetable Packers' Association and the Filipino labor union. But the militant leadership given the picket lines by the workers trained in the struggles led by the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union won concessions. In December, the Santa Maria "salad bowl" strike ended in victory, the workers preventing a threatened wage cut of 5 cents an hour.

Now once again the agricultural workers have rallied their strength in Imperial Valley. In the strike of lettuce packers and trimmers at this writing two workers have already been murdered and seven wounded. The will and need to struggle seem still to be there, despite vigilante and police terror.

The October, 1934, report of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics states that the average agricultural wage in California is higher than in any other state. It was raised from a 15-17½-cents-an-hour average in 1932 to a 25-cents-an-hour average in 1933 and to a 30-cents-an-hour average in 1934;

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from 40 cents per hundred pounds of cotton in 1932 to a proffered 60 cents per hundred pounds in 1933, and then to 75 cents per hundred as a result of the cotton strike, and to 90 cents to $1 per hundred pounds in 1934! Is this the result of a "defeated" agricultural proletariat? And the growers admit it was the fear of strikes that led them to raise the wages in 1934, even when the leading "Communist agitators" were in jail.

Sacramento, March 4 CAROLINE DECKER

[The writer of this letter, together with Norman Mini and six other radicals, was convicted in Sacramento on April 1 of conspiracy under the California criminal-syndicalism law as a result of their activities during the agricultural disturbances discussed by Mr. Mini and Miss Decker.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Friends of Labor to the Rescue!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The North Carolina Workers' Defense Committee, with branches in Chapel Hill, Burlington, Raleigh, and Asheville, is endeavoring to secure an appeal for seven textile workers who are being railroaded to the penitentiary for a crime they did not commit. They are charged with having dynamited a mill during the strike.

We have secured bail for all the men, but there are other expenses. Because their lawyers slept on their legal rights, they failed to take advantage of the pauper's exemption and we were forced to raise $411 to copy the court record. A legal expert to condense these four volumes into a narrative on which a brief may be based called for an additional $250. Besides this about $500 must be raised for lawyers' fees and incidentals. How we are going to get these funds we do not see, unless some of the friends of labor come to the rescue.

Checks and contributions may be sent to Paul Green, the playwright, in Chapel Hill. Mr. Green, I might add, pledged his entire property to get the men out on bail.

E. E. ERICSON

P. S. The last men we bailed out were found in a jail the floor of which was ankle deep with overflow from a cell above. Two of the men were almost insane from their confinement and the hair of one of them had turned white.

Chapel Hill, N. C., April 10

[The story of the arrest and conviction of these seven men, showing the flimsy character of the evidence against them, is related at greater length by W. T. Couch and J. O. Bailey on page 483 of this issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Share-Croppers and the Bankhead Bill

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I read with great interest your paragraph in the issue of March 20 on the Bankhead bill to create a Farm Tenant Corporation, but find it rather optimistic in its assumptions. The government may pay under this plan $1,000,000,000 for property, mostly land, which under an intelligent system of taxation would be available for not over one-fifth of that sum. The paragraph refers to 15,000,000 acres of land. This would mean a price of $66.66 per acre, but I assume that the purchase of more land is contemplated. You say that 500,000 families can be settled in five years, that the carrying charges on the average cost of $2,000 per unit farm for interest and amortization would be about $80 a year, that taxation and expenses of production would probably come to at least $25 or $30 a year. The cotton crop is estimated to be worth $200 a year.

The assumption that tenants and share-croppers would be benefited by being thus put on their own is belied by all the experience of agriculture in America. If the cotton these people raise yields $200 a year, it will be because the government is bolstering the price under the scheme of economic insanity which is masquerading as the New Deal. Who told you that "within a generation the system of land tenancy in the South could be ended and the poorest of America's submerged millions be intrenched in a position of slowly expanding independence"? The situation of hundreds of thousands of tenants and share-croppers is of course desperate, but this does not make them qualified to run their own show. A large proportion of them ought to be employed on collectivized farms under either government or corporation control.

You may be interested to know that although I have made every effort to get an opportunity to be heard on this bill, my requests have been denied by Senator Bankhead, chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee, who had a two hours' hearing on his bill. It seems hardly fair to compel the unemployed and underpaid to subsidize speculators in farm lands in the South under the pretext that tenants and share-croppers are to be benefited by the scheme.

Washington, April 2 BENJAMIN C. MARSH,
Executive Secretary, The People's Lobby

Late Was Premature

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I have just read with pleasure in your issue of April 3 your reviewer's very sound notice of Dover Wilson's edition of "Hamlet" in the New Shakespeare Series. But why has he killed off Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch by calling him "the late"? Unless your reviewer has received information which has not yet reached me, Q is still as alive as ever.

New York, April 4 F. R. MANSBRIDGE,
The Macmillan Company

Contributors to This Issue

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Labor and Industry

Dynamite in Burlington

By W. T. COUCH and J. O. BAILEY

WHEN the textile strike of last fall was finally brought to an end by the intervention of President Roosevelt, it was hoped that a basis for at least a short term of peace between mill-owners and labor had at last been achieved. But peace has not come, and the period since the strike has been used by the mill managements to weaken and break the local unions. A case in point is that of the dynamiting laid at the door of the strikers in Burlington, North Carolina.

The important facts in this case are as follows: On Saturday morning, September 15, during the textile strike, a charge of dynamite was set off in the yard of the E. M. Hold Plaid mill in Burlington. On the same day four sticks of unexploded dynamite wrapped in rags were found in a loom in the Stevens mill. Several weeks later, in open court, a night watchman for the Stevens Manufacturing Company declared that on the morning of the explosion he saw someone get out of a car, strike a match, and throw something that was lighted through a window of the mill. No explosion followed, however, and he did not investigate.

On the Monday following the explosion at the Plaid mill, officers and detectives began picking up workers and questioning them. Finally, they arrested ten men. Late in November these men were tried, and on December 4 seven of them—John Anderson, J. P. Hoggard, J. F. Harraway, Tom Canipe, Howard Overman, Florence Blalock, and Avery Kimrey—were found guilty and given sentences in the state penitentiary varying from ten to two years each.

The evidence came from three sources: first, the testimony of three of the ten men accused—Jerry Furlough, Charlie McCullum, and H. W. Pruitt—who confessed to complicity in a conspiracy implicating the seven convicted men; second, the "facts" obtained by four private detectives from Pennsylvania; and, third, the testimony of one Lee Rumple.

McCullum testified that Blalock admitted to him his share in the crime, and that Anderson told him that Blalock was involved. Furlough testified that Anderson was the "master-mind" of the conspiracy. Pruitt said that before the dynamiting he went with Anderson to hide some stolen dynamite on Anderson's mother-in-law's farm.

The whole case against Anderson is based on this testimony. All three of the men testifying against him have been notoriously disreputable, Pruitt having been tried twice since the dynamiting case—once for drunkenness, the other time for carrying concealed weapons. About twenty-five character witnesses appeared and swore to Anderson's good character. Two of them, one a war veteran and the other an ex-deputy sheriff of an adjoining county, swore that on a certain day in September they were riding in a car near the farm of Anderson's mother-in-law and were hailed for assistance by men with a stalled car. They heard reference to dynamite in the stalled car, and later identified one of the men as Pruitt, but were positive that the other man was not Anderson or any of the other defendants. But while the ex-soldier's character was good enough for him to be employed as a mill guard, it apparently was not good enough for his testimony to be accepted against that of the notoriously disreputable Pruitt.

Some light may be thrown on the case by a knowledge of Anderson's position and activities in the county. He is a prominent Republican and in the last election gave strong support to the candidate opposing the present sheriff, J. F. Stockard. He has been active in the local textile union and at the time of the strike was president of the Piedmont Textile Council. It is not difficult to believe that Sheriff Stockard and the local magnates, one of whom said that a union would be bargained with in his plant only over his dead body, bear no good feeling toward him. An idea of the methods used by Sheriff Stockard to get his man may be got from the fact that the brother of the foreman of the jury, a man suffering from tuberculosis, was given the job of superintendent of the county poor home on the day before the jury brought in a verdict. It is also significant that the jurors apparently were never instructed as to their duties; one of them said after the trial that he did not believe the men were guilty, that he and four others voted not guilty, but on being reminded that the majority ruled in a democratic country, he and the others in the minority gave in. Finally there is the fact that the sheriff, instead of selecting extra jurors by a random method as prescribed by law, sent word to his friends in various places to be in court and ready to do service when the trial opened. The case against Anderson is so flimsy that it is hard to understand how he was ever convicted, but he drew from the judge a sentence of from eight to ten years at the state penitentiary.

A number of persons interested in the case talked with one of the prosecuting attorneys. He stated that you could see Pruitt would tell the truth just by looking at him. He also stated that while he believes Anderson is guilty, he was very much surprised when the jury brought in a verdict of guilty for all the defendants. In reply to a query, he indicated he might be willing to request a pardon for at least one or two of the defendants provided the case was not continued by an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The quality of the testimony of Messrs. Pruitt and Furlough shows itself again in what they had to say concerning the part of another of the defendants, Avery Kimrey. At a preliminary hearing they both swore in the presence of numerous witnesses, and signed a paper to the effect, that on one occasion when they, Pruitt and Furlough, went on a trip to obtain stolen dynamite, Kimrey was with them at their invitation, but was simply riding along for the pleasure of the ride, and did not know where they were going or what they were planning to do. At the trial they changed their testimony and swore that Kimrey was in the conspiracy with them.

The second source of evidence in the trial, that of the four private "detectives" from Pennsylvania, is of an equally dubious nature. They testified that Howard Overman

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signed a confession and made statements implicating Blalock in the conspiracy. How the detectives got their "confession" is told by Overman's wife in a letter:

> There were two plain-clothes men came to our house and asked for him, and when he went to the door they began talking to him about an old Chrysler automobile that he bought over two years ago. They asked him if he still had it and he told them no, that a Mr. Kelly had it, and they asked him to go with them. They took him out to a bootleg joint called Correct Time End, and they told him that they were federal men investigating about the car. They gave him whiskey and kept talking about the car, then they asked him to sign his name to a paper to see if it would correspond with the name of the bill of sale for the Chrysler automobile. Said it would save them a lot of trouble if he would do that, so they gave him a blank sheet of paper and told him to sign his name in the right hand corner of the paper, which he did, and the next time he saw the paper it had the confession on it.

The third source of evidence on examination reveals itself as equally unacceptable. Lee Rumple, whose automobile was mired near a dynamite house from which it was discovered later dynamite had been stolen, testified that on the night of September 13 at about 9 p. m., Hoggard, Canipe, and Harraway stopped to help him get out of the mud. He swore that he did not see any of them go near or toward the dynamite house. But the fact that they were on the road at a time when the dynamite might have been stolen helped to convict them. The prosecuting attorney generously allowed that there was no real evidence against Canipe. But he was not so generous toward Hoggard, against whom there was substantially the same evidence. All three of the defendants are union members. Hoggard, however, was a leader. Perhaps this explains the discrimination.

The case has aroused practically no public interest in North Carolina. The state papers have had nothing to say about it. The local Burlington U. T. W. recently voted fifteen to fourteen to give aid to the convicted men. The president of the union used all his influence to defeat this move; he has refrained from calling any meeting since this vote and has attempted to have the charter of the union withdrawn. Every man who has a job with any of the mills in Burlington is afraid to stand up for the defendants. As one grizzled old weaver said, "There is man-fearing spirit among us."

What is the explanation of the failure of the law to obtain justice for these workers in North Carolina? The answer is to be found in the persistence of certain attitudes in an agrarian community: labor unions are regarded as conspiracies, and membership in a union is itself a confession of potential complicity in crime. The inevitable consequence of this situation is that the workers are being forced to adopt radical views. If their spirit is not broken by malnutrition and disease, by blacklisting, and by chain-gang and prison terms, the seeds of revolutionary radicalism will find them fertile soil.

The case is now on appeal before the Supreme Court of North Carolina. The defense is being conducted locally by the Workers' Defense Committee, made up of representatives of the United Textile Workers' union, the International Labor Defense, and public-spirited citizens of the state.

The Question of Affiliation

By HEYWOOD BROUN

IN its convention at St. Paul a year ago the American Newspaper Guild tabled for one year all discussion of joining the American Federation of Labor. Some critics assailed this action as an evasion of an important issue, but it was based on the not unreasonable general feeling of the delegates that no intelligent discussion could take place until the organization had much more knowledge of the various complicated problems involved.

The Guild meets in Cleveland in June and at that time there is likely to be extended debate upon the question. Many of the local units have already appointed committees to make a careful study of conditions in their own cities and to report their findings. Although some of the issues are perhaps peculiar to the Guild, others apply to the white-collar movement as a whole, and so it may be that an attempt to enumerate them in part is justified. It might be well to state at the beginning that since no application for a charter has been made, the American Federation of Labor has not yet put itself officially on record as to whether or not it would welcome the Guild into its membership. Friendly words and gestures have been exchanged from time to time but they could hardly be called commitments.

Since I am an officer of the Guild I hope to make this a detached review rather than a plea for any special course of action. The A. F. of L. undoubtedly knows that it stands at least a chance of taking on an extensive fight if it receives the Guild into its ranks. Several publishers have indicated a potential policy in the event that affiliation occurs. A Middle Western editor said to me frankly:

"If reporters attempt to join the American Federation of Labor, publishers are very likely to regard the move as definitely a warlike act and to fight it all along the line. Our strategy would be simple enough and I think it would win public support. Naturally we would raise the cry of 'the freedom of the press.' We would contend that we stood as its defenders since it would be impossible to maintain the integrity of the news if any great proportion of newsgatherers were A. F. of L. members. How could you send a reporter out to cover a textile, coal, or steel strike if that reporter were himself a member of the organization which had called the strike? No matter how hard he tried to be impartial, the bias would be there in his writing. And let me add that if the Guild affiliates with the A. F. of L., the war of the publishers will extend to the mechanical departments as well. We will say that, much as we believe in the right of labor to organize, the publication of newspapers is of such a peculiar and special nature that non-unionism is essential throughout. We will say that in the event of a general strike in any community it is essential that the newspaper shall be in a position to function in its informative capacity. The only other choice is chaos."

At this point my friend the editor ceased speaking. I believe he held back one prediction just as probable as the others which he voiced. It is my notion that a great many newspaper proprietors would like to go back to the open

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shop and that one pretext would serve as well as another. There have been very few newspaper strikes in the last twenty years, and this period of calm has probably been due to the strength of the mechanical unions. At one time the unions did control practically all the competent workers. That is less true today. The process of combining small papers into big ones has gone on so rapidly that there is now a reservoir of unemployed compositors who have dropped out of union affiliation. In other words, if the mechanical unions are sufficiently farsighted they will see that such grief as might come to them from affiliation with the Guild would in all probability come anyway.

If the newspaper publishers had been shrewd enough to cooperate with the Guild in its early days, I rather think that the move for A. F. of L. affiliation would not have made much headway. It has grown in the last year. Since a great many publishers are already fighting the Guild, the threat of greater hostility in the event of affiliation loses much of its force. To be sure, the A. F. of L. set-up in the newspaper plants does not at the present time offer much in added power to reporters even if they come in. In New York we are aware that Paterson, New Jersey, compositors have been conducting a duly authorized strike for many months and that the press men, photo-engravers, and stereotypers are still on the job in spite of the presence of strike-breakers at the linotype machines. This occurs because of the fact that each horizontal union has a separate contract and that these contracts expire at different times. A good many guildsmen feel that their own organization would gain additional power only if it were feasible for it to become a part of a vertical, or industrial, union, which could act as a unit on wage and hour disputes. But it is hardly likely that the A. F. of L. would change its established order at the behest of an outsider. Indeed, such private advices as have been received always go: "If you don't like the way we are running things, come on in and work for the changes you desire from the inside. What right have you got to criticize when you don't even belong."

It is my impression that few members of the American Newspaper Guild want to take any action which might result in a large loss of membership. The charge has been made that certain Guild leaders were desirous of boldly kidnapping the organization and carrying it into the A. F. of L. without so much as asking "by your leave." But there wouldn't be any sense in that even it it were possible. Some months ago the president of a Far Western Guild chapter reported: "Our line-up on affiliation with the A. F. of L. is about as follows: 30 per cent think he move would be too radical; 30 per cent would like to go in now; 40 per cent think the A. F. of L. isn't radical enough."

It might be added that the opposition from the left is subsiding. Most of the members of this group now feel that criticism from the outside is ineffective.

But a new movement has sprung up which still further complicates the issue. This is a proposal to s..k membership in the American Federation of Labor but by a different route. The proposal is that the Guild should seek to become a part of the Authors' League, the Screen Writers' Guild, the Dramatists' Guild, and the resulting confederation should apply for an international charter as the Writers' Union. In any event there should be an interesting time at the Cleveland convention.

A 3-Way Guide: TELLS, SHOWS, EXPLAINS:

SEX PRACTICE *in* MARRIAGE

By C. B. S. Evans, M.D., F.A.M.A., Member White House Conference, Committee on Maternal Care, Washington — Introduction by R. W. Holmes, M.D., F.A.C.S., Professor of Obstetrics, Northwestern University Medical School — Prefatory and other notes by Norman Haire, Ch.M., M.B., Specializing Obstetrician, Gynecologist and Sexologist, London, England

— *and* —

CHARTS OF SEX ORGANS WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS

By Robert L. Dickinson, M.D., F.A.C.S., Senior Gynecologist and Obstetrician, Brooklyn Hospital

CONTENTS

Section I. Bride and Groom
Section II. The Cold Wife—Frigidity
Section III. The Unsatisfied Wife
Section IV. Married Courtship
Section V. The Perfect Physical Expression of Love
Section VI. Illustrative Charts and Explanations

THE CHARTS

Female Sex Organs, Side View ● The Internal Sex Organs ● The External Sex Organs ● Female Sex Organs, Front View ● Entrance to Female Genital Parts ● Male Sex Organs, Side View ● Male Sex Organs, Front View ● Male Reproductive Cell, Front and Side Views. (*Detailed explanations accompany charts.*)

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Books, Drama, Films

Serenade

By JAKE FALSTAFF

I have waited three nights.
On the first night I whistled like a tree toad.
On the second night I hooted like an owl.
On the third night I howled like a dog.
I have waited three nights.

I have waited three nights and you have not come.
On the first night the moon rolled up the sky like a wagon wheel.
On the second night the rain ran off my hat.
On the third night the misty ghosts of water hung above the creeks.
I have waited three nights and you have not come.

I have waited there nights and you have not come; I will not wait any longer.
On the first night my check burned where your cheek had been.
On the second night my hands wandered over the world searching for you.
On the third night I howled like a dog.
I will not wait any longer.

If you do not come tonight, I will break a door.
I will walk into your house, roaring.
I will stand among your kinsmen, demanding you.
I will not wait any longer.

The Age of Plenty

The Chart of Plenty. A Study of America's Product Capacity Based on the Findings of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity. By Harold Loeb and Associates. The Viking Press. $2.50.

IT is not news that the productive mechanism of the United States did not, even at the 1929 flush rate of output, yield the full national dividend in goods and services of which it was capable. Nor is it particularly enlightening to be informed that the factors of production could have been so manipulated in 1929 as to yield standards of living appreciably higher than those actually obtained. But Mr. Loeb and his associates do not in general dispense such truisms as these. They engage instead in a truly grandiose project, for they endeavor to contrive precise and exact measures, in quantitative terms, of what the consumer might expect in the way of goods and services *"if production were limited solely by physical factors and knowledge."* As Stuart Chase explains in his foreword, the survey aims to grapple with the "physical" order of production alone, keeping clear at all times of the "commercial frame of reference."

To be sure, the study uses the dollar—in the context of its 1929 purchasing power—as the yardstick of measurement. To use such a yardstick at all, some might object, is to plunge head over heels into the commercial frame of reference. But the objection is not altogether fatal. So far as it was possible, Mr. Loeb and his associates have reckoned with bushels of wheat, bales of cotton, cubic volume of housing space, and passenger-miles of transportation. The results they have projected against the "reference frame of market value" on the theory that "though market values are not invariable, they should not be considered arbitrary, except in the case of goods intrinsically scarce."

If this matter of final projection is waived, the survey seeks to reduce the national apparatus for generating real income to technological magnitudes pure and simple. Mr. Loeb and his associates appreciate that in the absence of a scale of social values capacity to produce is indeterminate. They therefore superimpose the following limiting condition: What goods and services might the American people have enjoyed in 1929 "had they operated the [available] plant for the purpose of satisfying the [basic] 'needs and reasonable wants' of our citizens"?

"The Chart of Plenty" is a dangerous book for the reader intent upon safeguarding his critical faculties against an upsurge of wishful thinking. It is difficult to subdue the feeling that the findings ought to be true, even if they are not. For the conclusions reached are that "the resources, man power, equipment, and technology existing in the nation are ample to provide a high standard of living for every inhabitant of the continental United States." It is argued, to be precise, that the 1929 productive capacity was capable of yielding a real income in consumers' goods and services to the value (given existing retail prices) of $136,000,000,000. Divided equally among all families, the total was enough to provide every family (of 4.2 persons) with an annual income of $4,370. Each family, it is argued, could consume the quantities of foodstuffs called for by the Department of Agriculture's "liberal diet." Each family could purchase quantities of clothing similar to those purchased by the "professional classes" in San Francisco. Each family could be housed, not at once but eventually, in a "modern five- or six-room house or its equivalent—fully equipped with the best labor-saving devices." Each family could secure that amount of medical care which "medical authorities" regard as proper. Each family could have access to educational facilities consonant with the ideal budgets prepared by "authorities at Teachers College" and to recreational facilities consonant with the "existing taste of the people." There would be chickens in every pot, automobiles in every garage; the land, in sum, would flow with milk and honey, while the people rested at their ease in Zion.

Unfortunately for the argument that the Age of Plenty is now full upon us, Mr. Loeb and his associates are far from proving their case. This is not to say that 1929 standards of living were as high as physical factors permitted. But "The Chart of Plenty," regarded as an experiment in exact measurement, is vitiated by many fallacies. There is space here to examine only two, of which the first undermines the logical foundations of the survey and the second enshrouds the final results in statistical doubt.

First, the authors expressly refrain from giving capacity estimates for raw materials because, as they put it, "in many cases, they are impossible to calculate on the basis of existing plant and equipment; in others, they are meaningless or misleading." Can we take it for granted that all necessary supplies of fuels, minerals, and metals will be forthcoming to maintain any desired rate of output? Can we also take it for granted that the national output of foodstuffs is, for practical purposes, indefinitely elastic? To make assumptions like these at the outset of a study supposedly exact to the last degree is hardly consistent with the inherent spirit of scientific inquiry—determinate measurement. It is no proper answer to assume further, as the authors do, that exports and imports are varia-

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ble "at will." At whose will? That of the exporting or of the importing nation? Are the authors studying the physical-product capacity of the United States alone or of the world at large? If the latter, would they care to maintain the thesis that the "persistence of scarcity" *the world over* "is due to economic and not physical causes"?

Second, the final measurement—a potential consumers' income of $136,000,000,000—is open to the gravest doubts. The total seemingly includes not only goods and services which are consumed by families but also "the value of consumers' goods purchased by business concerns." Other valuations, to accept the strict canons of retail pricing, are largely guesswork; for example, the imputed rental value of owned homes and the imputed value of food raised and eaten on farms. Still other values—those ascribed, for example, to health and education—refer to a universe of discourse where retail pricing simply does not apply. Over and above all this, the authors brush past many difficulties which have long tormented students of price behavior. Are the existing data on retail prices in the United States sufficiently abundant, exact, and representative to warrant their unquestioned use in scientific inquiry?

It may or may not be true that technological progress has transformed what was once an economy of scarcity into an economy of abundance. "The Chart of Plenty," far from ending the argument, merely opens it anew.

ARTHUR WUBNIG

The Victorian Average

Queen Victoria. By E. F. Benson. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

BREAD and circuses are in these days the chief concern of every capitalist government. The British ruling class, which has had a longer experience of such matters than have most others, has recently been economizing on the bread—thereby provoking the biggest demonstrations of mass discontent which England has seen since the Chartist movement—and is now preparing to make amends by increased expenditure on circuses. This summer His Majesty King George the Fifth is to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession. Harbingers of this momentous event have already begun to cross the Atlantic, and among them, presumably, is to be included Mr. Benson's life of Queen Victoria.

Since traditional religion fell into decay, its services to the community have been divided among a number of other institutions. Idealistic astronomers console us for the brevity of our lives, nationalism provides us with our ideals and our moral codes, mass pageantry in celebration of patriotic or athletic occasions gives us a sense of union with our neighbors. An equally important function of religion was to dignify the common events of human life—to give human beings a sense of their own importance and thereby to make them more contented with their condition—by representing those common events as occurring not only to men but also among the gods. In the myth of a Holy Family men saw their own biographies magnified and transfigured. Republican America must now seek its myths as best it can—in Hollywood or among personages marked out by office or achievement; but more fortunate England has its monarchy. The English kings of history were statesmen or tyrants, saints or criminals, occasionally even lunatics, but in any case they were personalities in their own right; the duty of the modern English king is to be as ordinary as possible, to be a glorification of the average man, with average tastes and average prejudices. The late King Edward had some difficulty in conforming to the part he was required to play: his tastes were a trifle too Parisian to please the Nonconformist conscience, and his Semitic friendships betrayed a certain freedom from the prejudices common among his fellow-countrymen. The present monarch labors under no such disadvantages, nor, even more plainly, did Queen Victoria, to whom credit is due for first creating the role. In her early life, it is true, she committed an error which might have had serious consequences; she married a man who not only was German but who also read poetry and philosophy, improvised on the organ, and considered athletic exercises to be merely a form of recreation. An intellectual in Buckingham Palace was a disturbing spectacle; it might almost be regarded as a subtle insult to the British populace; and one can well understand why they should have resented paying taxes for his support and, during the Crimean War, should have hailed with pleasure the rumor that the Queen and the Prince Consort had been found guilty of treason and were about to be immured in the Tower. Fortunately, however, the Prince Consort died, and his widow had forty years in which to make amends. So prosaic, so petty bourgeois were her tastes and occupations, so faithfully did she echo every spasm of popular excitement—whether it were directed against Mr. Gladstone because he happened to be Prime Minister when Gordon was killed, or against the Boers because they declared war on Great Britain, or against the Kaiser because he expressed his sympathy for the Boers—that before she died she had almost ceased to be a human being; she had been apotheosized into an embodiment of the genius of England.

Mr. Benson wrote this book, one supposes, chiefly in order to cash in on the jubilee excitement. Several other biographies of Queen Victoria have been written, and one of them is already a classic. Mr. Benson convicts Lytton Strachey of being led astray occasionally by too lurid an imagination, but for the most part he follows closely in his footsteps, revealing no new facts of much importance and portraying the queen in the same light. At his best, as in "As We Were," he is a graceful and amusing raconteur, but in this book he has allowed himself to be overwhelmed by facts, and at times it degenerates into a mere chronicle of the queen's movements and conversations. An inordinate amount of space is devoted to her Coburg relatives, and as no genealogical tree is appended, one is left rather bewildered by these innumerable Alberts and Ernests and Leopolds. Mr. Benson appears to have tried to make his style appropriate to his subject; he uses long simple sentences held together by and's and but's. He succeeds—if that was his intention—in imitating the long-winded and undistinguished periods of a gossiping old lady, but unfortunately he has not, in this book, solved the problem of how to convey an impression of dulness without becoming dull oneself.

H. B. PARKES

A Liberal Historian

Everyman His Own Historian. By Carl L. Becker. F. S. Crofts and Company. $2.50.

FEW liberals have written with as much penetration as Professor Becker on the difficulties of their position. If current cant like the "dilemma of liberalism" or the "bankruptcy of liberalism" has any meaning left, it is undoubtedly due to analysis such as that of Professor Becker, who has sought to make its meaning specific. But analysis cannot do away with the genuine difficulties to which the stock phrases refer; and no better illustration of the fact could be found than this volume.

It contains book reviews and essays written over the wide span of twenty-five years. Only one of the pieces, The Marxian Philosophy of History, is here printed for the first time;

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one of them was published as early as 1910, and most of them before 1928. Yet none seems dated, and all give evidence of that learning, happy gift for epigram, and intellectual sensibility which characterize the work of Professor Becker. Why then, do they leave the reader with the feeling that Professor Becker might have written more effectively?

The answer is not far to seek. Professor Becker is able to analyze the predicament of liberalism because he is a competent auto-analyst. But the very predicament from which he suffers produces an ambiguous reaction to his work. In his presidential address before the American Historical Society in 1931, Professor Becker dared to diagnose the trouble with academic historians. He called their attention to the fact that in cultivating a "scientific" ideal they were perhaps following "a counsel of perfection but equally one of futility." They need not be astonished therefore if their work remained unread. History, he suggested, is a tool, a weapon to be used in the struggles of our day, and it must be forged to meet contemporary needs. Unless, he added, we adapt our knowledge to Mr. Everyman's necessities, "he will leave us to our devices, leave us, it may be, to cultivate a species of dry professional arrogance growing out of the thin soil of antiquarian research."

These are plain words. They not only make hash of the ideal of "scientific history," but they give comfort to the radical, who has all along been insisting on exactly this point. Yet as one turns to other essays in this book or as one recalls the closing pages of "The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers," one suddenly realizes where the source of dissatisfaction lies: the man who analyzes so keenly the predicament of liberalism is an excellent diagnostician but he can offer no cure. On Professor Becker's premises, history is an instrumental undertaking, "from which a significant meaning may be derived," but from Professor Becker's own historical studies the only meaning one can derive is that history offers the liberal no significant meaning.

This is the true dilemma of liberalism. It is not so much that, in Professor Becker's own phrase, "we stand irresolute, pulled one way by our human sympathies, another by our traditional ideals"; not that the contradictions in the system of production as reflected in the intellectual superstructure paralyze us, as the Marxist so obligingly informs us—for logical contradictions have never interfered with man's will to action, and if they did, the Marxist would suffer from ataxia as much as anyone else—but, to put it baldly, that we are not really pulled by our human sympathies at all; that even though we realize that to be effective we must believe in something, there is not much in which we can believe, for we know, deny it verbally as we will, that the things we could believe in have already been tried and found wanting.

One need not go beyond this volume for confirmation of one's suspicions. For the same man who courageously told his colleagues that they were pursuing a futile ideal is the man who answers the Marxists with these words: "And in any case why should I join the Communists? I am a professor, and the Communists are never weary of telling me that professors as a class support the capitalist regime because it is their economic interest to do so. Very well, I will be a sufficiently good Marxist to accept the doctrine that men's actions are motivated by their economic class interest."

Obviously it is not the Marxist who has us liberals on the run. Outside New York City and certain literary circles the Communist movement has little effective force to exert. It is the fascist who has us licked, because in spite of his saurian mentality he believes in something. He plans to rule with the knout, but he plans, while we, who know in a pure cognitive way that history must serve a purpose, do not know what purpose to put it to unless it be to show that for us it can have no purpose.

ELISEO VIVAS

Fancy's Child

Elinor Wylie: The Portrait of an Unknown Lady. By Nancy Hoyt. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.50.

ELINOR WYLIE is the poet of fancy. The chief thing to be noted in even the best of her work is that the quality of fancy is developed to its highest pitch of sprightliness, decorativeness, wit, ingenuity, and charm. Within her limits Mrs. Wylie remains unchallenged; at times she even appears to transcend them. It would be truer, however, to say that she understood these limits so well and worked over them so carefully that they seemed, in their superb finish, to be less restricting than they were.

Great poetry, it has been said, is anonymous: one does not see, nor very much care to see, the man or woman behind it. The work of a minor poet, however, is never quite so complete as to exclude his personality; we catch tantalizing glimpses of it in the least confessional of his verses. Let him but ponder on the universe, and we begin to ask ourselves what kind of man he was, whom he married, where he went to school. The poems of Elinor Wylie lend themselves to such speculation; they leave a margin in which we seem to see a hand, the shadow of a face, an experience only partially suggested, an attitude toward life insufficiently defined.

This volume, by Mrs. Wylie's younger sister, would seem to be exactly what we have been waiting for. When Mrs. Wylie died in 1928, little was known of her by the world at large—and that little came from friendly and naturally biased sources; most of it, strangely enough, was fairly disappointing and scarcely in accord with what we had been led to expect from her work itself. A legend grew up around her; it was, like all legends, unsatisfactory; and it threw us back all the more upon our own private conception of a restrained, exquisite, and fundamentally aristocratic being. Surely a biography by a member of her family, by someone who knew her so well and saw her so often, must kill this legend—or at least, by filling the gaps in it, relate it more sympathetically to that secret image of her which it was always threatening to deny. Yet Miss Hoyt's book leaves us with a disquieting sensation that we ought to have let well enough alone.

It is a book which neither adds to nor detracts from the legend of a romantic and essentially shallow woman. One looks in vain for more; one looks for the woman who wrote This Corruptible or even The Eagle and the Mole, and one finds instead a society belle going in for Poiret frocks, a schoolgirl with a romantic "crush" on Shelley, and, worst of all, a minor poet somewhat unsure of her position and seeking to defend it by appropriating all the shopworn characteristics with which a romantic tradition has been surrounding poets for ages. One turns away in embarrassment from the spectacle of Mrs. Wylie bursting into a room full of people and exclaiming, "I've got them! I've got them!" when she had bought some valuable Shelley manuscripts, or from the story (not in Miss Hoyt's book) of how she very nearly wept at a party during which the guests wrote their names on a wall because she felt that her own signature was not as fine as one which had preceded it. These gestures may well have been sincere; they may well have been the result of an ardent and unconventional sensibility. But their closeness to the "poetic" tradition, the way in which they manage to carry on the romantic type-soul of the "poet," renders them suspect.

Elinor Wylie, to repeat, was the poet of fancy, and it was to be expected that she would exhibit none of the individual richness, the genuine pride, courage, and sensibility which even in his private life distinguish the poet of imagination. But surely, in an intimate biography of a woman who made the

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most of her limitations, who brought her narrow and exquisite gifts to their highest point of perfection, one expects to find more than a social butterfly, a schoolgirl, or a character actress. The "Unknown Lady," one prefers to believe, is still unknown.

HELEN NEVILLE

Dreams and Facts

Leaders, Dreamers and Rebels. By René Fülöp-Miller. The Viking Press. $5.

THE subtitle of the book, "An account of the great mass-movements of history and the wish-dreams that inspired them," makes the reader expect a sort of Freudian interpretation of the more interesting chapters of the great human tragi-comedy. Mr. Fülöp-Miller does make his bow to the great teacher, but his chief purpose, as he states it right in the introduction, is to "deal with the situations in which history has been made by visions, in which dreams have operated formatively upon the life of human society." He does not deny the "working of material needs" and the "spiritual principle." But he prefers to emphasize the "third force," that is, "the power of dreams."

What follows is a panorama of religious, national, and social upheavals and movements, and of the theological, philosophical, and, partly, political theories accompanying them. It is a tour de force of condensation and dramatic presentation, which should secure the book an honorable place among other "outlines" for persons in need of a short cut to information. The millennarian hopes of the downtrodden; their "longing for equality," which is continuously thwarted by the "equally strong desire for possession"; the blind faith of large masses in leaders who in so many cases have been either lunatics or charlatans, or both; it is all meat for melancholy reflections about present-day trends, and reminds one of Renan's cruel saying that it was the stupidity of the masses which enabled him to grasp the concept of the infinite.

Interesting reading though it is, the book is nevertheless not of those that can claim to be taken seriously. True, the author does not conceal the background of misery and exploitation as the determining factor of most of the upheavals. Yet when he gets to the more complex social systems, such as the European societies since the sixteenth century, he prefers in most cases to explain the leaders from inside, so to speak, rather than by an analysis of the surrounding social forces. This attitude is easy to understand. The author's sympathies are apparently with the gospel according to Mussolini. That new revelation insists upon the essential unity of each national entity, and sees the historical process chiefly as a succession of wars and conquests. As a result, one would try in vain to find in the book a clear demonstration that those "wish-dreams" were as a rule rationalizations of definite conflicting material interests, usually coupled with personal ambitions for power. There is barely a hint of the class basis of the ever-changing interpretations given to the concept of "equality," the greatest "wish-dream" of all ages. In places Mr. Fülöp-Miller's performance is worthy of the Nazi philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg. Lenin's success as a revolutionary leader evokes from the author such profundities as the "millennarian absolutism of the Russian spirit," "Russian blood," or "the catastrophism" which is "a deep-rooted ingredient of the Russian temperament."

In his desire to dramatize the presentation of various historical episodes, Mr. Fülöp-Miller evinces a sovereign contempt for the narrow limitations imposed by such non-essentials as facts or texts. In order to explain why, as he says, "the labor movement drew a breath of relief" when Marx died, he

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imputes to the aging teacher opinions with regard to the ten-hour day which the latter had given up more than thirty years before. To show Lenin's demonic irreconcilability, he attributes to him a spurious statement to the effect that "it does not matter a jot if three-fourths of mankind perish! The only thing that matters is that, in the end, the remaining fourth should become communist!" The liberty he takes with facts reaches its climax in the way he deals with Georges Sorel. "Sorel's doctrine of force," he says, "provided the foundation for French syndicalism; from his ideas . . . likewise originated the program of the royalist 'Action Française' and the concept of fascism." As a matter of dry fact, Sorel himself admitted his indebtedness to the anarcho-syndicalist pioneer Fernand Pelloutier, and his own writings were persistently ignored by the French syndicalist militants. The royalist Action Française, with its famous champions Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet, was very active long before Sorel, disgusted with the corruption of French bourgeois democracy, had a short spell of medievalism which he later regretted. Sorel died, as is well known, an admirer of Lenin; and if after his death some of his ideas were used as an ex-post-facto justification of a successful nation-wide hold-up by a band of unprincipled adventurers, he was as defenseless against this desecration of his memory as were Babeuf and Blanqui, precursors of modern communism, against similar procedure by Mussolini's philosophical bodyguards.

Yet, for all that, the book is worth having. It is well written, it has a good index, and the numerous illustrations constitute a valuable collection all by themselves.

MAX NOMAD

Drama

From A to B

MR. JOHN VAN DRUTEN is a prolific playwright who has managed to achieve a considerable success both here and in London. In at least two cases that success was sufficiently justified, but the more one sees of his plays the more evident it becomes that the range of his feeling is absurdly narrow and that the things he can say well are extremely few. Like the actress whom Miss Parker made unhappily famous, he runs a gamut of emotions from A to B, and there are, unfortunately, very few dramatic subjects which can be adequately treated within that limited compass.

Nice people in their nicer—and quieter—moments he understands very well. When nothing more is required than a pleasant picture of pleasant domesticity he has a style of his own, and no one can make the tea table more genuinely agreeable than he. But he is not really at home anywhere except in the drawing-room, and even there he is lost if the drawing-room atmosphere is disturbed by so much as a gentle draft from anywhere outside the walls which were built to inclose quiet affection and polite self-control. Resigned regret on the one hand, a mild determination on the other, mark the limits of the emotional field over which his characters can move without losing all verisimilitude, and invariably his voice cracks into falsetto whenever he attempts anything beyond their range or his.

In his first play, "Young Woodley," and in the very pleasant little comedy called "There's Always Juliet," Mr. Van Druten was fortunate enough to find subjects which were genuinely interesting without making demands which he could not meet. But such subjects are rare, and most of his other attempts have failed in one of the two ways which his limi-

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tations make almost inevitable. Last year "The Distaff Side" stayed carefully within his range and remained quietly dull. This year "Flowers of the Forest" (Martin Beck Theater) raises its voice with disastrous results. Miss Katharine Cornell plays the leading role for all its worth and considerably more, but she cannot conceal the fact that every "big" scene is palpably false and that only in the quietest moments is the play convincing enough to be effective in the slightest degree.

The story is concerned with the lives of two sisters whose lovers were killed in the war. The second act goes back to the war era itself, and Mr. Van Druten's chief purpose was apparently to preach a sermon in favor of peace. All he has to say upon that subject is extremely worthy and some of it is said about as well as one can hope a platitudinous truth to be. In addition he creates one real character in the person of the more commonplace sister, who declines into a sentimental and querulous middle age. She can be convincing because she is never supposed to be capable of any except the mildest emotions, and Margalo Gilmore plays her very well indeed. But when Mr. Van Druten attempts to portray passion he can neither think of any situation fresher than that of a woman heavy with an unwanted child nor give her anything except the most worn of theatrical phrases to use. For passion he cannot invent convincing gestures or convincing language, and the chances are that he does not know it except through the theatrical literature from which he borrows some tawdry devices. One would recommend that he stay quietly within his own limitations if one did not know from experience how depressingly dull he can be when virtuously resolved to do just that. Under the circumstances nothing remains except the hope that he will again find a subject where neither heights nor depths of feeling are either called for or made too conspicuous by their absence.

"Ceiling Zero" (Music Box Theater) is a melodrama written about the character of a practicing Don Juan who had an airplane instead of a bicycle. The airport scene is novel enough to make melodrama seem as fresh as it needs to be, and there is one really exciting bit when a plane crashes just beyond the window. John Litel succeeds in keeping the roystering pilot from being offensive and Osgood Perkins is as good as usual in the role of the hard-boiled field manager. It is a pity, though, that so good an actor should be wasted on type parts which by now he could play in his sleep—and probably does.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

Half a Loaf

THE question raised by "Black Fury" has come to be more and more the most pressing of all questions in the minds of those who follow the current cinema. It is the question whether or not we are to reconcile ourselves to dispensing with our intelligence, to forgetting whatever knowledge or dim sense of the truth we may possess, in our response to the offerings of that field of entertainment. If the question is raised with such insistence on this occasion, it is because no picture in months has more convincingly revealed the embarrassing consequence of failing to recognize it. Rarely have the metropolitan film reviewers been forced into such an anguishing betrayal of confusion, self-contradiction, and indecision. In one breath they expand with admiration for the reckless temerity of the Warner Brothers in daring to turn their attention to conditions among the striking coal-miners of Pennsylvania. In the next they admit, somewhat shame-

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facedly in some cases, that of course the treatment accorded this material is reactionary to the last degree. The conclusion with which one is left is that the implications of a film matter little if it is provided with a good cast, a well-documented background, and a goodly dose of violent dramatic action.

Certainly the producers of "Black Fury" must be credited with a certain bold ingenuity, a sense of the main box-office chance, in turning to the plight of the coal-miners as a subject for a Hollywood picture. It is a subject fraught with every species of violent physical action, and such action is one of the most profitable commodities of the industry. Violence of every sort you will find represented in the picture: a half-dozen rousing fist fights, a cavalry attack on the miners by a force of hired thugs, the clubbing to death of a worker by a company policeman. The film is, from this point of view, one of the most exciting of the season. And Mr. Muni, as the swaggering, illiterate, misunderstood Joe Radek, who has disgraced himself by opposing the regular union, gives the most vigorous performance of his screen career. The sympathetic humor which he exudes helps dissolve more than one puzzling complication of the plot. In fact, the climactic situation, in which Joe Radek descends into the mine and threatents to blow up the whole works unless the union's demands are accepted, is made plausible almost solely through Mr. Muni's hilarious good spirits. Some tribute also must be paid to the director, who has had the good sense to realize that in dealing with such events in the way that he is required to deal with them a speeding up of tempo is the better part of discretion. "Black Fury" moves with a rapidity that aims to give the spectator no time in which to consider what all this misery and violence might really be about.

If some slow-minded spectator should nevertheless pause long enough to make such a reflection, he would be confronted with the following somewhat startling thesis: the cause of all strikes in this country is the existence of certain sinister and mysterious strike-breaking organizations, whose method is to foment trouble between workers and employers for the sole purpose of commercial gain. The only salvation for the misguided workers, with agents of these organizations continually in their midst, is to stick by their own regular unions—even when those unions do not secure all their demands from the employers. In the words of one of the leaders, "Half a loaf is better than no loaf at all." It is with this venerable truth reestablished in their minds that the miners in the film, after Radek's somewhat inconsistent one-man rebellion against both employers and union leaders, return to the shafts.

Now it is not the intention of this column to inquire into the possible historical or theoretical accuracy of this interpretation of American labor troubles. It will be unnecessary to blunder into a field in which authorities like Benjamin Stolberg and Louis Adamic would be able to throw a great deal more light. Both the *Daily Worker* and the scathing bulletins of the Film and Photo League can be depended on to supply the kind of "class-analysis" to which this type of picture lays itself wide open. It will only be suggested that even the most casual exercise of the intelligence is likely to leave one unpersuaded by the subterfuges to which the Warner Brothers have had recourse in this film. It is an instance, in strictly logical terms, of the cause being insufficient for the effect: the mind refuses to accept an explanation that does not meet all the facts in the situation. Unlike the more easily satisfied workers in the story, the intellectually alert spectator will find himself unable to content himself with the half loaf of truth which the producers throw out to him. Despite the clamor and violence and bloodshed, despite the vigorous and well-sustained movement, despite Paul Muni, he will probably conclude that such a picture is really worse than no loaf at all.

WILLIAM TROY

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